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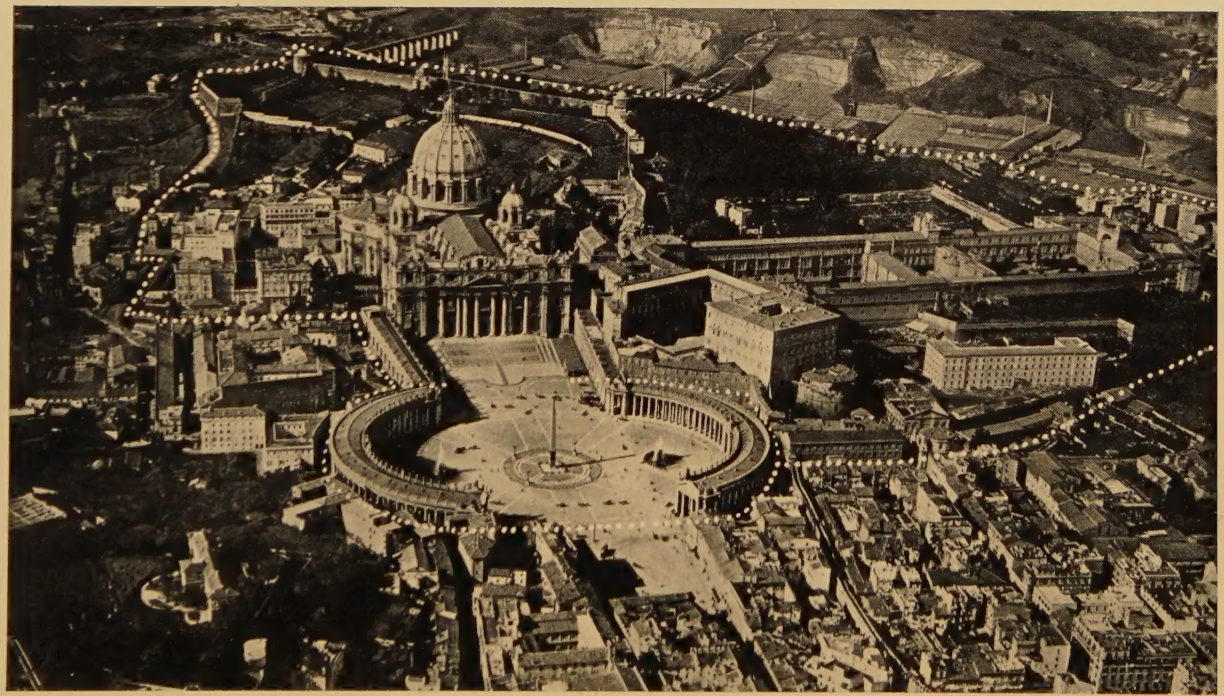

Alinari

THE VATICAN CITY AS SEEN FROM AN AEROPLANE

The white dotted line indicates the approximate confines of "The State of the City of the Vatican." The definite boundary lines are shown on the reproduction of the official map, facing page 208

PETER'S CITY

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT AND SOLUTION OF THE ROMAN QUESTION

By

THOMAS EWING MOORE

Formerly Secretary of the American Embassy at Rome

New York

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

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DEDICATION

To

GEORGIANA *and* ROSEMARY

"*My Father, if it be possible,*
let this chalice pass from me.
Nevertheless, not as I will,
but as Thou wilt."

Matt. xxvi. 39.

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INTRODUCTION

THE greatest need of our time is peace. An epoch-making peace-treaty has now been signed in Rome, the Peace of the Lateran —which means peace between Church and State in Italy. The 6th of February 1922 and the 11th of February 1929 are dates to be remembered. They mark the beginning and the accomplishment of the accord which unites the Holy See and the Government of the Kingdom of Italy in friendly relations after a lapse of almost sixty years.

The election of Pius XI fell on the first of these two dates. To understand better the greatness and the nobility of his character, wherein lay the germs of this peace, let us turn back to that day seven years ago when the white smoke rose above the Vatican to proclaim that a new Pope had been chosen. Cardinal Mercier, the Belgian patriot, has left us a stirring picture of the scene in the Sistine chapel when the Conclave elected Pius XI. All the baldacchinos had been lowered except that over the seat of the elected, around him were grouped the members of the Sacred College. Cardinal Mercier's words recall the emotion with which the occasion was charged :

" Dost thou accept ? " The words were those of the Cardinal-Dean. There was a silence which told of humility, doubtless of dread, but of faith and confidence also ; we waited in suspense with bated breath. Softly came the answer, more or less in these terms : " It must not be said that I refused to submit to the Divine will ; it must not be said that I have cast off a burden which my shoulders were meant to bear ; it must not be said that I have shown little regard for the expressed will of my colleagues ; therefore, in spite of my

unworthiness, of which I have a profound consciousness, I accept." "And what name wilt thou take?" added the Cardinal-Dean. Emotion choked the voice of the new Pope: "Under the pontificate of Pius IX I was baptised into the Catholic Church and made my first steps in the ecclesiastical career. Pius X called me to Rome. Pius is a name of peace, therefore, desiring to dedicate my efforts to the work of world-pacification, which my predecessor Benedict specially made his own, I choose the name of Pius." Then, after a pause, "One other word I should like to add: I vow before the members of the Sacred College that I have it at heart to safeguard and defend all the rights of the Church and all the prerogatives of the Holy See; and that being said, I desire my first benediction to go out, in earnest of the peace to which humanity aspires, not only to Rome and to Italy, but to all the Church and to the entire world. I propose, then, to give it from the exterior balcony of St. Peter's."

This description by the venerated Cardinal of Malines bears witness to the deep impression which the scene had made on him. Every word of Pius XI tells us of his great heart and of his love of peace. Meanwhile out on the vast Piazza of St. Peter's the multitudes were waiting patiently to see the white smoke, little thinking that the tradition of four pontificates was to be broken and that they were for the first time in three generations once more to see a Pope on his election day.[1]

Was it an augury of what was to come to pass in seven short years that among that crowd stood

[1] The election of Pius IX had taken place in 1846.

the Fascist Deputy, Benito Mussolini ? Could he have foreseen that he and the Pope whose blessing he was soon to receive were destined to give to Italy the peace and the unity she had so long been denied ?

The immense throng on that February morning was bubbling with excitement in anticipation of the great event that was to confide the Catholic Church to new guidance, as it was to be hoped, for many years to come. At a quarter to twelve a thin column of white smoke mounted into the grey morning sky. A cry went up : " *La fumata !* " (The election of a Pope is always announced to the waiting Romans by the white smoke which issues from one of the chimneys of the Vatican.)

But there are still doubts among the crowd. The smoke is so thin, a shadow, just a suspicion of smoke which many have not even seen. Many do not credit it ; many still gaze expectantly. But a few moments later the windows of the central loggia of the Basilica open, tapestries are flung over the balustrades, and immediately Cardinal Bisleti appears, surrounded by the prelates and high dignitaries of the Pontifical Court. At once the thousands of voices are hushed, nothing is to be heard save the murmur of the fountains in the square. The sonorous words of the Cardinal-Deacon pronounce the ritualistic formula : " *Nuntio vobis gaudium magnum habemus Pontificem Reverendissimum et Eminentissimum Dominum Cardinalem Achillem Ratti.*" At these words the voice of the Cardinal is drowned in a formidable burst of acclamations. Applause and cheers sweep in a whirlwind up to the balcony, hats and handker-

Over there on the colonnade of Bernini is a splash of colour—yellow, red and blue—a file of men whose silhouette stands out against the leaden sky; they are the Swiss Guards. Nearby are the ranks of the Italian soldiery: both present arms to render homage in the same manner in the name of two different states to the Sovereign Pontiff.

The bells of St. Peter's, voices of bronze, voices of silver, peal out, and all the many times four hundred bells of Rome's four hundred churches lift their gamut of notes till the air reverberates with the stupendous concert.

It was thus that the new Pope wished to signify the universality of his benediction, and in the manner of giving it to make a departure from the practice in vogue since 1870. It needed some such unusual circumstance to render manifest the supreme intention of his pontificate—the realisation of world-peace by means of a Christian reconciliation of its warring peoples. It was in no sense a political action, affecting Italy alone, which Pius XI then inaugurated. The giving of this blessing was an entirely religious act for the profit of all nations, of all the races of mankind without distinction.

Pius XI's purpose is to lead humanity away from the unspeakable ills from which it has so long suffered. The world, for its part, has seen in his every word and deed from the benediction of February 6, 1922, to the signing of the Lateran Treaty on February 11, 1929, a love of peace, a striving for peace, and a determination to secure peace. Although the distinguished career of the

new Pontiff was almost unknown to the world at large until after his election, his first act was enough in itself to win unanimous applause; even then a chorus of voices was raised to proclaim that peace after all might prove a reality.

There was no question of renunciation of the imprescriptible rights which the Holy See has always claimed, and will always continue to claim, because they safeguard the Divine mission of the Papacy. In that act of public benediction it is only necessary to see the gesture of new advances made to the Government of Italy. These advances happily have been blessed from on high and have now been crowned with the laurel of victory, the victory of peace.

Rome has been the living heart of Christianity for nearly nineteen hundred years; here came Peter, who was the Rock on which the Church was built, here he and the Christian martyrs in their thousands laid down their lives to vindicate their Faith, here that Faith has been nurtured and its sacred flame kept burning brightly throughout the ages to illuminate the world. From here with but few interruptions—for less than one hundred years[1] in that marvellous span of nineteen centuries—the Roman Pontiffs have handed on their unbroken authority of spiritual sovereignty, while, for a thousand years, the Eternal City has been the seat of their visible temporal sovereignty.

The recent solution of the Roman Question has aroused the interest of the world, and directed afresh its attention to these historical facts. All eyes have been turned to the Rome of Fascism and

[1] When the Popes were resident in Avignon.

the Holy See. The Italian revolution of 1870, the seizure of the Papal States, and the consequent retirement of Pius IX under protest to the Vatican, were the sequence of events which created the modern Roman Question, a situation that has never ceased to be of universal importance owing to the international character of the Catholic Church. During the sixty years that have elapsed since the walls of Rome were breached at the Porta Pia this situation may well have lost some of its freshness, and the younger generations may have but a vague idea of the crisis and of the political happenings which gave it birth. It has been my aim, therefore, to supply a reasonably brief narrative of the repercussions arising out of the seizure of the States of the Church, as well as of the Roman Question which was the direct outcome of that violation of territory, and also of the solution which has recently been arrived at. Chapters have been added which it is hoped will contribute to a better understanding of the problem that has so long embittered the relations—if, indeed, relations can be said ever to have existed—between the Italian Government and the Holy See. Such chapters are those on the Origin of the Papal States, on the Temporal Sovereignty of the Pope, on Fascism and the Church. Further, I have sought to include brief descriptions of the new Vatican City, the seat of the Pope, of his more intimate surroundings in the Vatican Palace itself—his Court, his little "army"—and, lastly, of his summer palace, the Castle of Gandolfo in the Alban Mountains, which no Pope has visited for sixty years. A short sketch of the lives of the Popes

who have reigned from the revolution of 1870 to the Peace of 1929 is also appended.

The Treaty and Concordat signed at Rome on February 11 by the Plenipotentiaries of Pius XI and the King of Italy have put an end to the passive strife that has so long persisted between Church and State in Italy, and brought about a peace that is no less welcome to Fascist Italy than it is to the Catholic world. This peace was vital for the realisation of Mussolini's ambitious ideal of welding an entire people into a homogeneous body in which every member must be subservient to the State. But as his ideal State was to be a State with a Church, the Head of the Italian Government, the *Duce*, with a stroke of the pen has undone the work of the Italian politicians who, during sixty years, had been dominated, more often than not, by an anti-Christian policy masquerading under the cloak of "Liberalism." It is hardly necessary to explain to those who rightly hold dear the principles of true Liberalism that the men who inspired the Italian revolution of 1870, and of those other revolutions that went before it, and who seized the Papal States, had nothing in common with, for instance, the great English Liberal statesmen of the nineteenth century, although they did have a very great deal in common with those who called themselves "Liberals" in France and Germany, for they were openly anti-Christian, anti-clerical, and, in the beginning, even anti-monarchical. Their ideals and their methods were those of the French revolutionists who overthrew the monarchy and did their best to destroy the Church. In 1877, after the government of the new Kingdom of Italy

had been established in Rome for six years, Cardinal Manning wrote :

". . . We will go on to see in detail what have been the consequences of the violation of the sovereignty of Pius IX. The consequences have been threefold ; first, to Italy itself ; secondly, to Europe at large ; and thirdly, to the Catholic Church.

" First, as to Italy, the effect of it has been this, that the revolution which came from France, and poured through the Alps, has deluged Italy. It was a revolution which began in the ghastly masquerade of the French infidelity of the last century [eighteenth century]. It had two principles—a twofold antagonism, to Thrones and to Altars, to kings and to priests. It was an atheistic and a republican revolution, and that revolution, entering into Italy, received a mitigated form thus far, that it no longer professed atheism, but only deism ; that is, it is un-Christian and anti-Christian, but Mazzini still retained the profession of a belief in God. The result was the same ; it was an anti-Christian revolution subverting both the Christian Church and the monarchies of Italy.

" The direct effect of it has been to break up the political unity of Italy. The old governments fell one after another. There is now a monarchy, but under the foundation of that monarchy are moving at this moment the agencies of the same anti-Christian and republican revolution. We have only to look at the noble and Catholic people of France to see what has been the consequence of the revolution of the last century [eighteenth century]. It has so undermined the foundations of political and social order, that, from 1789 to this day [1877], no stable government of any form—republican, monarchical, or imperial has been able to endure. The instability of that great people—parcelled and morselled into six conflicting political parties—is a spectacle that must make every one who loves France, be he of French or English blood, to mourn. What has happened in France

is now happening in Italy ; and, unless the Providence of God heal the Italian people, and turn it back upon its old traditions, its future will be what the present of France is now.

"But, further, the revolution in Italy began not by working through the principle of its unity—that to which Italy owes all its greatness, that to which England owes its unity at this hour—it began by a direct conflict, and the antagonism of incessant war against the first principle of all unity, without which unity cannot exist—I mean the one common faith, the one common authority which reigns over the consciences and the wills of men. The first object of the hostility of the Italian revolution was the Holy See and the head of the Church. Besides this, all nations have their progress, and the progress of a nation is like the growth of a tree, bearing its fruit in due season ; if the trunk of the tree be wounded, the vigour of the tree is stayed. Anything which crosses the healthy developement and growth, be it of tree or of human society, is fatal to its perfection. This has happened to the progress of Italy. Progress is the developement of order. . . . The revolution has introduced disorder throughout the whole nation, and, therefore, the progress of the nation is stayed.

"The usurpation of Rome and the acts of the Italian Government are a masterpiece of violation, a sacrilegious breach of express promises, pledges and engagements, written by a royal hand : and while the ink was not yet dry. This is a supreme example of the sacredness and of the worth of the moral obligations which are supposed to bind the nations of Europe to each other. But we have not to look far, we have not to strain our memory. What has been happening in the last five or six years to the treaties which once bound Europe together and gave us the hope of peace in the East ? Is there a treaty, however solemnly engaged in, which has not been violated ? Is there, at this moment, a treaty binding nations together in Europe which the contracting nations are ready to execute ? For

the last years, or even months, the whole book of treaties has been trampled under foot."

The irruption of Fascism in Italy, its genesis, its avowed purpose, and the results it has attained are still but little understood abroad. Like a gleaming sword it came to cut the bonds of an Italy strangled and gasping in the grip of misgovernment and incompetence. Fascism stemmed the threatening Bolshevik tide (1922), brought order and discipline out of the chaos into which the country was plunged, and inspired a fervent patriotism that approximates to a national intoxication.

Mussolini had not been long in office before his keen intelligence perceived that he could not rule a Catholic country with the old anti-Catholic laws if it was to become united in sentiment, in purpose, and in progress. It is vain to point to the time when his tendencies were far from favourable to the Church, when, for example, in 1919 he seemed ready to swallow the existing laws that oppressed the Church with all their harsh features. Who shall impeach his change of heart? Great natures are strong enough to learn better and alter their opinions. He was an extreme Socialist, a "Red," in fact; to-day he is first of all a patriot, the very antithesis of what he stood for not so many years ago. "By their fruits ye shall know them." The internal situation in Italy at the present time bears eloquent testimony to the genius of this statesman who has been born anew, to the man of whom Pius XI could say: "With the grace of God, with much patience and much labour, thanks to constant and generous assistance (Musso-

lini's), we have succeeded *per medium profundum* in drawing up a Concordat which, if not the very best possible, is certainly to be reckoned among the best. Therefore, it is with the deepest satisfaction that we are persuaded that we have given back God to Italy and Italy to God." Not the least of the great benefits Mussolini has been instrumental in conferring on his country is this Peace of the Lateran, in which a great historical wrong has been acknowledged and, in so far, perhaps, as is now desirable or necessary, righted.

The overtures made by Mussolini to the Vatican in August 1926 found their echo in the peace-loving heart of Pius XI. The modesty of the Pope's territorial demands facilitated negotiations. Although the area of the Vatican City as defined by the Treaty is small, still it suffices to proclaim his sovereign rights and to secure complete independence.

Is the Concordat binding on future Italian governments? This is a question which many will ask, and one which must cause speculation now and in the future. Unquestionably, it is binding on the present government of Italy. One cannot conceive its being abrogated or repudiated by any government save by one such as those which during the nineteenth century declared war on all religions and made the overthrow of the Catholic Church the prime object of their policy. It will be recalled that the Italian Government agreed to the Holy See's retaining the Vatican after the unlawful seizures of 1870, although the Law of Guarantees placed it on the equivocal footing of a leasehold. It would be difficult to imagine this

little territory being annexed or dismembered by any future government, no matter what its political colour. Any ministry which made the attempt would violate a solemn undertaking given to the Holy See in return for its formal recognition of Rome as the Capital of Italy, and for its renunciation of territorial claims to the former States of the Church. Moreover, it would mean the violation of an undertaking which has been accepted universally as just, binding, and permanent.

The question of guarantees has naturally presented itself to the minds of many. A study of the two documents[1] signed on the 11th February—the political Treaty and the religious Concordat—justifies the position which the Popes have maintained since 1870, that the question was one between Italy and the Holy See alone, and must be solved without any intervention from the outside or guarantees furnished by any other Power than Italy. Pius XI stated on the day when the signatures were affixed that no request for permission, or consent, or for guarantees could be in question, however much he desired and however much he valued the favour and friendship of all the states and all the governments. What guarantees, properly speaking, he asked, could be found except in the justice of his cause, except in the conscience of the Italian people, except still more in the Divine Providence and the assistance promised the Church? What guarantees could he possibly hope for beyond these? The Powers had done nothing, and perhaps were not able to do anything, to prevent the fall of a temporal

[1] Appendices I and II.

sovereignty which had played a not inconsiderable figure in the political geography of Europe. If such instability be a condition inherent in all exercise of human authority, how could he possibly seek sure defence against the future, against dangers which at present were purely hypothetical and have never been more unlikely than now to offer any serious menace ?

The Roman Question, therefore, has been regulated on the basis of guarantees which are exclusively Italian, and which are the only ones necessary for its solution. Having averted the threat of a Bolshevik convulsion in Italy, it is a significant and characteristic step of the Fascist régime to bring about a moral alliance between the two Romes. Church and State are thus united in a common cause for the defence and preservation of society, authority, and religion. Only by such means can we hope to maintain that discipline which is the strongest weapon against the forces of destruction.

The guarantees of any Power or any group of Powers would have availed the Church nothing. It still refuses, and always has refused, to be a national Church, and in this it must find its surest source of strength.

* * *

After long years of seclusion, on July 25, 1929, Pius XI came forth from his "prison" to make manifest that his sovereign independence and personal freedom were not only recognised but established in fact. There had been many conjectures as to the nature of the Pope's first appearance outside the Vatican, yet none who but dimly appreciated the heart and mind of Pius XI could have been

surprised that he made that day one purely spiritual in its significance. The long procession round Bernini's colonnade, with its thousands of young seminarists from all parts of the earth, was a living expression of the universality of the Church and its unity of doctrine.

The solemn blessing from the steps of St. Peter's recalled that other great moment on the day of the Pope's election. Once again Pius XI gave evidence of the all-absorbing desire of his life: to bring to a troubled world the Peace of his Master.

* * *

In a simple narrative such as this, which seeks to record the historical evolution of the political status of the Roman Pontiffs, the genesis of the Roman Question—its growth, stagnation during nearly sixty years, and final settlement—and other matters necessary for an understanding of the situation in Rome from 1870 to the present time, the value of that which is presented must depend very largely on the reliability of the historical writings and other sources consulted by the author. Free use has been made of such sources—of a vast literary output in English, French, German, and Italian. It is believed that the most competent authorities have been studied. I have been fortunate in having had exceptionable opportunities of gathering the opinions of many whose learning and whose knowledge of the subject are profound. For the great help these friends have given me in writing the following chapters, I desire to express once more my deep sense of gratitude.

THOMAS EWING MOORE.

ROME, 1929.

PETER'S CITY

Chapter I
THE ROMAN QUESTION
1796—1870

IT HAS BEEN SAID that everybody is interested in the Roman Question, but that nobody understands it. It has been called a political question; undoubtedly it has been a political question, a burning one, for the Kingdom of Italy, whose "Liberal" politicians created it, but in its universal sense—universal because the Catholic Church is international, not national—it has been much more than simply a question of politics, inasmuch as it has deeply affected the liberties and the free, untrammelled exercise of the spiritual authority of the Head of the Catholic Church.

The entry of the Italian troops into Rome on the 20th of September 1870 raised the Roman Question into the prominence it has maintained for fifty-nine years. But it is of an earlier birth than the fateful day when the breach was made in the walls of Rome. Where shall we look for its beginning? It might be that we must hark back through the long centuries to another day when One said: "Thou art Peter . . ."

The accepted definition of the Roman Question is conveniently this: The situation created between the Holy See and the Italian Government by the seizure of the Papal States in 1870. That violation of territory struck at the very roots of Papal inde-

pendence, involved the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, and dwarfed mere political considerations. If the Roman Question, as Cardinal Manning said, touched upon political spheres or political facts, it was only because religion could not be separated from morals or morals from politics.

To find the historical background for our question we must look to the great French Revolution, which struck a threefold blow: at the cultural existence of Europe, at Government, and at Church. We must look for it in the works of such moulders of French thought as Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, or Montesquieu. Rousseau's dictum that Christianity gave mankind two laws, two rulers, and a dual fatherland that imposed conflicting obligations on them and made it impossible for them to be at the same time pious and good citizens is a libel that has been cherished by many since the Reformation. We have seen it in the harsh anti-Catholic laws of England which were in force until well into the nineteenth century, and we have seen it during the month of November last year in the presidential election in the United States, where every slander, old and new, was used or invented to defeat the Democratic candidate, who happened to be a Catholic. One of the widest-spread beliefs of an ignorant section of American voters was that, in the event of a Catholic being elected to the office of President, Washington would be ruled from Rome.

This hoary fetish that a Catholic cannot be a good citizen persists still in some quarters in spite of the lessons of the Great War, the war in which loyalty to country knew no religion; when Catholics

fought against Catholics just as Protestants fought against Protestants, with exactly the same ardour and with the same brand of patriotism.

Amongst other things, the French philosophers of the eighteenth century taught that religion was the principal cause of all mortal evils, that the Pope was a dangerous impostor. They preached a war of extermination against Christianity and its foremost bulwark, the Papacy ; in the words of Voltaire : "*Écrasez l'infame*"—stamp out this infamy. But in vain, for the century which followed saw the Catholic Church increase in power, in importance, and in the number of its members, although during that century the Papal States had to undergo many invasions, three Popes were either made prisoners or driven into exile, and, ultimately, those States were seized and ceased to exist, except for the little Vatican City which was left to proclaim the Pontiff's temporal sovereignty.

In 1796, three years after the head of Louis XVI fell at the hands of the executioner, the French Republic began its war on the Church in Italy, having already destroyed it or driven it into hiding in France. The Papal States could offer no resistance to Napoleon, into whose hands, after his victories over the Austrians, Ravenna, Bologna, Ferrara, Imola and Faenza dropped like ripe fruit. This was the beginning of a whole catalogue of aggressions and territorial exactions on the part of the French. The armistice of Bologna cost the Pope the Legations of Ferrara and Bologna and the fortress of Ancona. Like a brigand with a pistol at the head of his victim, Bonaparte forced the handing over of five hundred rare manuscripts

and one hundred valuable paintings, in addition to an " indemnity " of 21,000,000 lire.

The booty obtained in 1796 must have caused the future Emperor of the French to thirst for more, for the following spring he broke anew into the territory of Pope Pius VI, compelling him to subscribe to the Peace of Tolentino, wherein he renounced his rights in Avignon and Venaissin ; this time 15,000,000 lire more tribute was exacted, and again the most beautiful and valuable works of art took their way along the well-worn path between the Vatican and the Louvre.

Napoleon made his brother Joseph Minister of France in Rome. Under his ægis the work of disaffection, of preparation for a sister republic in Italy, went steadily on. The encouragement the republican element in Rome received from the future King of Naples emboldened it to appear before his palace with the classic French cries of : " Freedom," " Liberty," " Long live the Republic," to which was added, in recognition of Papal sovereignty : " Down with the Pope." The French general, Duphot, placed himself at the head of this rabble of a few hundred and was shot in an encounter with the Papal militia, which intervened to restore order. This incident supplied Paris with the pretext for which it had prepared the way and for which it was awaiting. General Berthier was entrusted with the mission of putting an end to the Papal States. Rome surrendered to him on February 10, 1798, and five days later the cherished design of the French was accomplished by the proclamation of the Republic.

Pius VI, like his great successor, Pius IX, refused

to take the advice of his counsellors to flee from Rome. His removal by the French by force was brutal in the extreme. The aged Pope—he was in his eighty-first year—begged in vain to be permitted to die in Rome. What was the answer he received to this plea? "*Vous mourrez partout.*" He was literally dragged from Rome, forced first to make the journey in an ordinary *diligence* to Siena, and then taken to the Carthusian monastery near Florence. His brutal captors did not hesitate to carry him, in spite of his advanced age, the following year to Parma and Turin, thence in a sort of litter over Mont Genèvre and on to Valence, where he arrived on July 14, 1799, more dead than alive. Even his dying state evoked no pity in the hearts of these anti-Christian revolutionaries, for their intention was to move him still further into France and away from Italy, but death came to his release on August 29 of that same year. He was a victim of grief for the attacks on the Church, and suffering at the hands of the French.

As a final indignity the body of Pius VI was left unburied for several months, the Directory having refused permission for the funeral rites to be held. Napoleon finally signed a decree granting a public funeral for the remains of the deceased Pontiff. His body rests in St. Peter's; his effigy represents him bowed in prayer before the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles.

Since the time when the territory of the Holy See was enlarged by Charlemagne in 774, during the pontificate of Adrian I, the Papal States have experienced many and great vicissitudes: they have been invaded, enlarged, or reduced, at the mercy

of the political tides of the moment. They had frequently to struggle to maintain their legitimacy in the face of assaults by Vandals, by Lombards, by the German Emperors of the Middle Ages, and by the dissensions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. All these storms were faced and weathered until the outbreak of the French Revolution.

The 6th of July 1809 witnessed an historic and dramatic event in the old palace of the Quirinal in the Eternal City—the palace which is now the chief residence of the King of Italy, but which at that time was occupied by the Pope in summer, being situated in a quarter of Rome then considered more healthy than that of the Vatican—French soldiers had broken in and forced their way to the room where stood Pius VII, surrounded by a few members of his household, awaiting the messenger of Napoleon Bonaparte, General Radet, who commanded the French troops which had invaded the city.

The outrage of the message he bore must have overcome the soldier when at last he stood before the Pontiff, for they regarded each other in silence. General Radet, it is recorded, was asked later why he did not speak at once and deliver his ultimatum ; he replied : " I felt sure of myself as long as I was ascending the stairway and was in the midst of the Swiss Guards and the soldiers, but when I came to stand in the presence of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, my First Communion rose up before me." When he had recovered his self-control, he said : " Holy Father, by command of the Emperor, I must call on you either to abdicate your temporal dominion or to go with me to prison."

This was the answer of Pius VII : " You have done right to fulfil the command of your master the Emperor, because you have sworn fidelity to him ; and I must do my duty which binds me to my Master. He has committed to me the temporal power of the Holy See as a trust, in behalf of the Universal Church, and resign it we ought not, we will not, we cannot."

This Pope, Barnaba Luigi Count of Chiaramonti, Bishop of Imola, was elected at Venice on March 14, 1800, therefore not on Italian soil, since the city of the Doges was at that time a part of the Austrian kingdom. In view of the troubled times Pius VI had decided a few months before his death that the Conclave to name his successor should be held in whichever place the greatest number of cardinals happened to be at that time. This led to the choice of Venice.

In the meantime the victories of the Austrians had given them possession of the Papal territory to the north and put an end to the Republic. Rome was occupied by the Neapolitans, but Napoleon's defeat of the Austrians at the battle of Marengo gave back to the Pope his territory, and on July 3, 1800, his return to his capital was joyfully acclaimed.

The secretary of the Conclave which elected Pius VII was destined to play a leading rôle throughout the pontificate of this Pope. Before he left Venice Pius VII had named him Acting Secretary of State, and on their arrival in Rome this prelate, Ercole Consalvi, was confirmed in his office and raised to the dignity of Cardinal. Consalvi was one of the ablest statesmen and diplomatists of

his day. At the time the Pope selected him to assume charge of the foreign relations of the Holy See and to be his chief adviser he was only forty-three, but his great abilities, his sagacity, his charm of manner, and his eloquence had already marked him as a powerful personality among the Roman prelates. He brought to the service of Pius VII the qualities and the experience which that Pontiff stood most in need of—familiarity with world-politics and with the art of diplomacy. He was the faithful, devoted, and most competent servant of Pius VII for twenty-three years and until death separated them.

Cardinal Consalvi in his youth had been a *protégé* of the Cardinal Duke of York, and had commenced his studies for the priesthood at the college presided over by the Stuart prince at Frascati. His training and his talents were to be put to the test in the changed situation following on the conclusion of the Peace of Lunéville in 1801, and throughout the years of Napoleonic oppressions, interferences, and exactions.

Bonaparte had become First Consul in 1799; he soon saw that he could best consolidate his power and reassure a distracted people by re-establishing the State on religious foundations. In this we may find an analogy between the Napoleon of France and the "Napoleon of Italy" of to-day. Each desired to pacify and unite a Catholic race that had been exploited almost beyond bearing by anti-Christian elements. Napoleon, however, had neither respect for the Church nor did he have its welfare at heart. Mussolini has both.

Napoleon's contempt for the sacred office of the Sovereign Pontiff was dramatically expressed at his coronation. Pius VII had accepted the invitation to be present against the advice of his Cardinals. All the world knows how Napoleon took the imperial crown from the Pope and set it upon his head with his own hands in order to proclaim that the highest power was vested in himself alone.

From this time on until his banishment to Elba Napoleon laid a heavy hand upon the States of the Church and the temporal sovereignty of their Head. The relations between Pope and Emperor were embittered by the refusal of the Pope to annul the marriage of Joseph Bonaparte to the American, Miss Patterson. The Pope had also refused in 1810 to recognise the divorce of the Emperor and Josephine Beauharnais, which Napoleon had decreed in order that he might gratify his vanity and ambition by marrying Maria Louise of Austria, a refusal which recalls that of another Pope to sanction the divorce of Henry VIII—a decision which was destined to have such profound effect on the allegiance of England to the Catholic Faith. The final break came when Napoleon endeavoured to force Pius VII to join in the so-called " Continental System," which had as its object the exclusion of England from all Continental ports and trade. Pius VII stood as firm in his opposition to this plan as he did in the matter of royal divorces.

In 1805 Napoleon no longer troubled to hide his enmity. He occupied Ancona despite the protests of the Pope. He bestowed Papal enclaves on Talleyrand and Bernadotte, whereupon the former proceeded at once to suppress the monas-

teries situated in the dukedom allotted to him. Napoleon's demands became more and more excessive; he wished to have the right to name one-third of all the Cardinals; he insisted that the *Code Napoléon* should be introduced into the Papal States. His ultimatum was promptly rejected, with the result that in 1808 Rome was again occupied by the French. In the same year four more Papal provinces were severed, the Vatican was surrounded by guards so that the Pope and his Secretary of State were no more than prisoners, while arrests and deportations were the order of the day.

At last came the famous decree of May 17, 1809, dated from "Our Imperial Camp at Vienna," in which, after proclaiming that his predecessor Charlemagne had endowed the Bishops of Rome with various lands as a means of securing peace for his subjects, without Rome having ceased to form a part of his empire, Napoleon proceeded to announce the annexation of the Papal States to the French Empire; that was Article I of his decree. The second Article provided that Rome, the first seat of Christianity, should be recognised as an imperial free city; Article III that the monuments of Rome's greatness should be controlled and preserved at the cost of his treasury; Article IV that the public debt would be considered as an imperial debt; Article V that the income of the Pope should be 2,000,000 lire free of taxes and burdens; Article VI that the seats and palaces of the Holy Father should not be subject to any impost, court jurisdiction, or right of search. In addition to this renewed violation of the territory

of the Pope, and the assumption of over-lordship, Napoleon had the effrontery to address a letter to him at a somewhat later date in which he remarked ironically: "You will have enough to do in confining yourself to the direction of souls." In this communication, in which he so plainly manifested his ill-temper, the self-crowned Emperor of the French further observed that: "The Popes have for a long time meddled in what does not concern them, and thereby neglected the true interests of the Church. I recognise you as my spiritual Head, but I am the Emperor. Rome is irretrievably a part of my Empire."

The above decree was published in Rome on June 10, 1809. The reply of the Pope took the form, in addition to a solemn protest, of a Bull directed against the "Usurpers of the Patrimony of Peter, those who give them their orders, their well-wishers, and those who execute their orders." Napoleon, however, was not mentioned by name in the Bull.

Shortly afterwards Pius VII was arrested by General Radet at the instance of Joachim Murat, King of Naples, and by order of Napoleon. He was treated with the same indignity as that which had been meted out to his predecessor. Hastened into a common *diligence*, he was forced to endure a journey lasting from four o'clock in the morning until eleven at night, and, in spite of the excessive heat, the blinds of the post-wagon were kept closed so that he could not be recognised. The first night was spent by the Pope in a wretched inn, and on July 8 he arrived at the monastery of Certosa near Florence, where ten years before Pius

VI had been brought a prisoner in a like manner, and by the same oppressors.

The defeats he suffered in the year 1813 first turned Napoleon's proud spirit towards thoughts of peace; he offered the Pope the "*Départements*" of Rome and Trasimeno and acquiesced in his return to his capital. Pius refused the Emperor's offer and returned to Savona to bide his time, nor did he have long to wait, for on March 10, 1814, Napoleon, after he had seen all Italy freed and half of France in the hands of his enemies, liberated the Pope who had held out so resolutely and so long. Pius arrived in Rome on May 24, after more than four years of captivity. But the end was not yet. With the escape of the Corsican from Elba came the attempt of Murat to win over the Italians to his master's forlorn cause; he marched into the Papal States with an army of some fifty thousand men. This new attack of the Pope's old enemy must have come as an unwelcome surprise. Pius left Rome still another time, taking refuge in Genoa. Murat's revolution was doomed to failure; he issued a grandiloquent manifesto to the Italians: "The hour has struck which shall fulfil Italy's destiny; it calls upon you to be an independent nation. From the Alps to the Straits of Scylla the cry resounds for Italy's independence." Quite in the manner of the good, old-fashioned melodrama. Italy turned a deaf ear to the seductor, her people yearned for peace and quiet, and they saw a better guarantee of this under their own ruler than under the eagles of Napoleon. It only remained for Murat to be decisively defeated by the

Austrians and driven from Italy for the Pope to return again to Rome.

Thanks to the able diplomacy of Consalvi, the Congress of Vienna (June 1815) restored to the Pope his entire former territory with the sole exceptions of Avignon and Venassin, which remained French, and a small part of Ferrara, which was awarded to Austria. Consalvi's success at Vienna won the admiration of the ablest statesmen of the day; in the words of Talleyrand it was "the cleverest and most daring stroke that was ever played on the green cloth." Whatever may be said of the disposition made of Avignon and Venassin, the handing over to Austria of the small strip of Ferrara territory bordering on the Po was devoid of equity. The Pope wisely accepted the findings of the representatives of the Powers assembled in Vienna, if only to give expression to his appreciation of the considerate attitude of the Protestant rulers of England, Prussia, and Sweden, and of the orthodox Czar of Russia, who had recognised in his person the oldest legitimate sovereignty in Europe.

The first preoccupation of Pius VII and his Secretary of State was to bring about the reorganisation of the Papal States. It was a problem difficult enough in itself to reconcile the relationship between the organisation introduced by the Napoleonic régime and that which had existed before, even without the opposition of the Revolutionary Party and the reactionaries under Zelanti. Some found that Consalvi did not go far enough in the search for reforms, while others protested that he was too liberal. It was a sign of the times

that the Papacy found encouragement from abroad in unexpected quarters, that is to say, not only from Catholic countries, but also from those that were Protestant. The revolution was recognised as having been anti-religious, therefore, the restoration was religious; hence all countries saw in the Pope the champion of Christianity and the leader of conservatism. The tangible results of this feeling in foreign countries are to be found in the favourable Concordats which were concluded by the Holy See with France, Bavaria, Spain, Prussia, Sardinia, and Naples. In its modern history the Papacy had never found greater support and a more open mind to appreciate its problems.

The returned Bourbon Dynasty in France sought a new Concordat to replace that concluded between Consalvi and Joseph Bonaparte on July 15, 1801, which declared the Catholic religion to be that "of the majority of French citizens"—this phrase was used because Napoleon would not hear of a State religion. The new Concordat of 1817 was a renewal of that of 1516, but it was fated to be rejected by the French Chamber, that historic Chamber which was, is now, and so often has been in modern times a bitter opponent of the Catholic Church. Owing to this rejection the Concordat of 1801 remained in force until 1905.

Pius VII died on August 20, 1823, and was followed soon after by his faithful Consalvi, who died in January 1824.

The successor of Pius VII, Leo XII, reigned from 1823 until 1829. Under this Pope the considered liberal policy of Consalvi was abandoned and replaced by one of strong reactionary tendencies.

He was pious and earnest, but not always fortunate in his government and in the choice of advisers, or of men to carry out his policy; this was true especially of the Legate Rivarolo, whose harsh administration in the Romagna ultimately compelled him to flee for his life, and cost him his office.

On the death of Leo XII followed Pius VIII, who lived only one year after his election. His short reign was marked by the emancipation of the Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland.

Gregory XVI was elected in an atmosphere of revolution on February 2, 1831. Revolts had broken out in Bologna and in Umbria provisional governments had been set up, the Papal officials driven out, and public funds confiscated. Austrian troops came to the aid of the Pope in March and put an end to the insurrection and to the "Italian National Congress" in Bologna. The attempted revolution in Rome was quickly mastered, but for seven years Austrian and French soldiers remained there to keep order. The years following the withdrawal of the Austrian and the French troops were at first peaceful, but the last three years of Gregory's life were disturbed by insurrections. Mazzini and his associates had planned a revolution for an earlier date than the outbreak of the disorders of 1843 in the Legations; it did not, however, occur. The insurgents and adventurers who attacked Rimini in September were forced to retire before the Papal arms, and most of them saved themselves by crossing the Italian frontier. Such was the unsettled state of Italy when Gregory XVI died on June 1, 1846. Italy was not alone

in feeling the ground heaving under her feet; revolution was smouldering on every side.

Pius IX was only fifty-four when he was called upon to assume the burden of the longest and one of the most disturbed pontificates in history. A great and liberal-minded Pontiff, he was distinguished by many noble and lovable qualities. Cardinal Manning was to express many years later—in 1877—with glowing words the affection all humanity felt for the beloved *Pio Nono*, who was then near the end of his troubled reign:

"Once more [he wrote], in these years the sympathy of the whole Christian world has been drawn to Pius IX with a filial love and a fervent devotion which, in the whole history of the Pontiffs, I can find nothing to equal. Throughout the world all Catholics cherish in their hearts, I may say, a loyalty for the Head of the Church. The person, the countenance, the sorrows, the persecutions, the fortunes, the vicissitudes of Pius IX are familiar thoughts with them, awakening in their hearts the response of affection and sympathy. Nay, I will go further, and I will ask whether any upright, honourable man who loves Christian liberty, and who believes that Christianity has an authority of its own, and that it ought to be independent of all worldly masters, whether his sympathy has not been drawn, with a great closeness, to the majestic presence of the Chief Pastor of the world, who has borne upon himself for thirty years the unrelenting brunt of force and fraud. And why has he been assailed? Because he would not betray his trust. He is the guardian of the liberty and independence of the Christian world. I believe that there never was a Pontiff in history round whom the sympathies of Catholics, and all those who, unhappily, are not of our unity—and I would to God they were—have been drawn with such a closeness."

Queen Victoria was one of those who shared this sympathy for Pius IX. In reply to his letter written from Gaeta in 1848, informing her of the disturbances which had driven him from Rome, the Queen wrote in these characteristically sympathetic terms to the Pope:

"Your Holiness has given so many proofs of being animated by a sincere desire to improve the condition of the people whom, under Divine Providence, you have been chosen to govern, and the clemency of your heart, and the rectitude of your intentions are so well known and truly appreciated, that I cannot but hope that the trials you have experienced in consequence of popular commotion will speedily come to an end. . . .

"I request your Holiness to believe that it would afford me real pleasure to be able in any degree to contribute to a result so much to be desired; and I am happy in having this opportunity of assuring you of my sincere friendship, and the unfeigned respect and esteem which I entertain for your person and character."

The letter of Pius IX and Queen Victoria's reply formed the first State correspondence between an English monarch and a Sovereign Pontiff since the reign of Henry VIII. There are no records of State correspondence with the Vatican in the reign of James II, but a formal communication passed between the Prince Regent (afterwards George IV) and Pius VII.[1]

This historic occasion was not the only time that Queen Victoria felt impelled to express her sympathy with Catholics. In 1850, when the Catholic Hierarchy was re-established in

[1] *The Universe*, February 15, 1929.

England, and when there was such an outburst of anti-Catholic agitation owing to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, she wrote to Lord John Russell :

"The Queen is glad to hear of what has passed between the Archbishop and Lord John. She trusts that something may be done, as the desire seems to be so great. On the other hand the Queen deeply regrets the great abuse of the Roman Catholic religion which takes place at all these meetings. She thinks it unchristian and unwise, and trusts that it will soon cease."

Pius IX was elected in 1846 and began his reign by making great concessions in the government of the Papal States, but during many years the revolutionary movement had been gaining ground in Italy. In 1847 it became apparent that a rupture between the Pope and the people could not be long delayed, and this largely owing to the mild and liberal character of Pius having impelled him to grant the amnesty which resulted in emboldening the revolutionaries. No government, no matter how strong, could have prevented the emergencies which arose in the neighbouring States ; one after the other bowed before the rising tide : Sicily and Naples first felt its thrust, the King was forced to grant a Constitution in January 1848, on February 8 Charles Albert of Piedmont, and on February 17 the Grand Duke of Tuscany followed with a similar Magna Charta. In the meantime, threatening clouds were spreading over Lombardy and the Venetian territory. In Rome the demand for a Papal Cabinet composed in part, at least, of laymen was met by the Pope when on March 10 a ministry was formed under

Cardinal Antonelli having six lay and three clerical members. This was followed by the proclamation on March 14 of the Constitution—"Fundamental Statute for the temporal government of the States of the Church." A parliament consisting of an Upper and a Lower House was established. Members of the former were to be nominated by the Pope for life, those of the Lower House were to be elected by the suffrages of the people.

About this time arose the "Out with the Barbarians" cry. The revolution broke out in Austrian Lombardy, and Charles Albert of Piedmont took up arms against the Austrians, crossed the Tessin and called all Italy to follow him in a holy war. The blessing which the Pope had bestowed on the troops was claimed in some quarters to indicate that he had declared war upon the Austrians. This he denied, and in his Allocution of April 29 he declared that it would be impossible for him to make war on Austria, inasmuch as by virtue of his apostolic office his fatherly love must embrace all peoples in the same degree; he declared further that he would never head an Italian Confederation.

Two ministries failed to bring about order in the sorely tried Papal States. After the defeat of Charles Albert, the Pope in September summoned Pellegrino Rossi to assume charge of affairs. Rossi was a politician of considerable talent and experience. The Chamber of Deputies had been adjourned since August 26. Rossi was not to have the opportunity of laying his liberal programme before it, for, although forewarned of his danger, he fell by the hand of a revolutionary assassin on November 15;

the following day the mob was in full control, the Quirinal was attacked, the Swiss Guards fired upon, and the revolution a *fait accompli*. Eight days afterwards the Pope put into execution his plan to escape from possible violence at the hands "of a nefarious conspiracy of abandoned and most turbulent men,"[1] by seeking refuge at Gaeta, near Naples.

On the refusal of Pius IX to return to Rome or to recognise the ministry, a Junta of three members was formed on December 11 and a new ministry was named which was to take its authority from the Junta, wholly ignoring the Pope. Elections were started on February 5, 1849, to choose members for a law-making Assembly. As the Pope threatened to excommunicate all those who took part in the elections, the inevitable result was that all who held moderate opinions abstained from voting, giving the revolutionaries and radicals a complete victory. On February 9 the Assembly declared the temporal sovereignty of the Papacy to be at an end and proclaimed the Roman Republic. A Triumvirate was elected on March 29, one of whom was the Genovese agitator Mazzini, who had been one of the principal revolutionary propagandists since 1831, when he was a youth of only twenty-three.

It must not be forgotten that impartial historians of this period in Rome have emphasised the fact that the revolution brought in its train "a rabble of undesirables that constituted some of the worst elements of the last hundred years."

Pius IX did not return to his capital until April 12, 1850; in the meantime he had urged the

[1] Pius IX, Letter to Queen Victoria.

powers to intervene, calling especially upon France, Spain, Austria, and Naples—all Catholic countries —for military action. The conferences of the representatives of those countries began in Gaeta on the day following the election of the Roman Triumvirate (March 30, 1849), and on April 25 the French landed some ten thousand men under Oudinot at Civita Vecchia. The revolutionists who had seized Rome were obstinate in their determination to reject all friendly overtures, a determination that must have been strengthened by the defeat Garibaldi inflicted on the French, with heavy losses, when they attempted to storm the Porta San Pancrazio. The forces of Oudinot were raised, first to twenty thousand and later to thirty thousand men; these fresh resources, together with the arrival of Spanish troops in Ferracina, and the conquest of the northern portions of the Papal States by the Austrians, gave the situation an entirely different military aspect; on June 30 the French took possession of Rome after a severe engagement. That Pius IX did not return to Rome until nearly eleven months later was due in part to the efforts of the French to force him to maintain the old Constitution. This interference proved fruitless, and the Pope was able to appoint a Government Commission on July 17, 1849, and in 1850 a ministry of which three members were laymen.

The French remained in Rome until 1870, with the exception of the short period from December 1866 to October 1867. The Austrians had already withdrawn from the Romagna in 1859. The war with Germany was the immediate cause of the departure of the French troops.

It is especially interesting for Englishmen to understand the attitude of leading English statesmen of that period, and to follow the debates in the Houses of Parliament on the question of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, which was menaced by the revolutions of the nineteenth century—revolutions which strove to overthrow other thrones of Europe besides that of the Papacy.

Lord Ellenborough on June 12, 1849, made this declaration in the House of Lords :

" It was quite true England was not a Catholic State, and might not, therefore, feel that personal interest in the position of the Pope which was felt by Catholic Powers, but we had eight millions of Catholic subjects, and it was as much an interest to us, as it would be to any one of the Catholic Powers of Europe, that the Pope should be in a position of independence ; that he should not be so situated as to be dependent upon the bounty, or upon the power of any one, or of any combination of the Powers of Europe. That was surely of as deep an interest to us as it would be to either Austria or Naples. The question was not whether the Pope, as Sovereign of Rome, should or should not reside there : but whether the person who happened to be at the head of the Roman Catholic Religion should maintain a position of independence ; and that appeared to him to be a matter of the deepest importance."

Lord Lansdowne said :

" He did not say that they had no interest of a political character ; on the contrary, he said that in his (the Pope's) political character they had a great interest. In that view he would repeat what he had said before—that the Government were most anxious that the Pope should be restored

From a contemporary steel engraving

THE FIRST "PRISONER OF THE VATICAN," POPE 1846–1878

to Rome. He had said before, the British Government felt that it was placed in a situation quite distinct from that of the other Powers as to the restoration of the Pope. He alluded of course to the religious ties which bound those Powers to the Sovereign Pontiff and which did not bind us. But, nevertheless, the British Government had not seen with indifference the events which had expelled the Pope from his temporal dominions : but they had always been, and still were, ready to offer such suggestions as might be useful for the purpose of restoring by negotiations the Power and authority of the Pope in Rome.[1]

Lord Brougham on July 20, 1849, in moving certain Resolutions on Foreign Policy, said :

" And here let me say a word which may not be popular in some quarters . . . upon the separation of the temporal and spiritual authority of the Pope. My opinion is, that it will not do to say the Pope is very well as a spiritual prince, but we ought not to restore his temporal power. That is a short-sighted and, I think, a somewhat superficial view of the case. I do not believe it possible that the Pope could exercise beneficially his spiritual functions if he had no temporal power. For what would be the consequence ? He would be stripped of his authority. We are not now in the eighth century, when the Pope contrived to exist without much secular authority, or when, as Bishop of Rome, he exercised very extensive spiritual authority without corresponding temporal power. The progress of the one, however, went along with that of the other ; just as the Pope had extended his temporal dominions by encroachments and by gifts, like those of Pepin and Charlemagne . . . just as in proportion as his temporal authority increased, did he attain so overwhelming influence in the Councils of Europe. His temporal force increased his

[1] Hansard, vol. cvi, p. 9.

spiritual authority, because it made him more independent. Stripped of that secular dominion he would then become the slave now of one Power—then of another—one day the slave of Spain, another of Austria, another of France, or, worst of all, as the Pope has recently been, the slave of his own factious subjects. His temporal power is an European question, not a local or a religious one, and the Pope's authority should be maintained for the sake of the peace and the interests of Europe. We ourselves have seven million Catholic subjects . . . and how is it possible to suppose that, unless the Pope has enough temporal authority to keep him independent of the other European Courts, jealousies and intrigues will not arise which must reduce him to a state of dependency . . . and so enable any one country wielding the enormous influence of his spiritual authority to foster intrigues, factions, and rebellion in the dominions of her rivals." [1]

Lord Lansdowne answered as follows :

" He had no hesitation in stating that he quite agreed with the views of his noble and learned friend on the subject ; but he assured him they were by no means peculiar, inasmuch as they were precisely those laid down in Lord Palmerston's despatch to Lord Normanby,[2] where he distinctly declared that the Sovereignty of the Pope was something quite peculiar, and having a relation with all the Roman Catholic States of the world, quite different from that of any other authority. The condition of the Pope's Sovereignty was quite peculiar. As a Temporal Sovereign the Pope was of a fourth or fifth order : as a Spiritual Sovereign he was not only of the first honour, but enjoyed a Sovereignty unparalleled in the world, being capable of exercising over, not one, but every country in Europe an authority and

[1] Hansard, vol. cvii, p. 627.

[2] Lord Normanby was British Ambassador in Paris from 1846 to 1852.

an influence with which nothing could compare. There was, therefore, in respect of other States, a ground for interfering and maintaining his authority, which did not exist in any other case ; and being a sort of compound interest, the necessity was imposed on the Catholic Powers of watching, in order to see that the joint object of preserving the spiritual head of their religion was not made the means of promoting temporal ambition. But when he said that, he was not prepared to say, that we, as a Protestant State, had not to a certain extent, a similar interest : there was not a country with Catholic subjects, and Catholic possessions, which had not a deep interest in the Pope being so placed as to be able to exercise his authority unfettered and unshackled by any temporal influence which might affect his spiritual authority." [1]

Lord Palmerston's despatch to Lord Normanby, referred to in Lord Lansdowne's speech, was, in substance, as follows : That it is without doubt to be desired that a person, who in his spiritual character exercises vast influence in the internal affairs of the greater part of the nations of Europe, should be so independent as not to become, in the hands of any European Power whatsoever, a means of embarrassing others.

Cardinal Manning has pointed out that the principle expressed above was that of English statesmen until certain of them began to meddle in the Italian revolution. It is easily seen from the quotations of the speeches of the then English leaders that a very well-grounded perturbation and a very legitimate anxiety existed in responsible English quarters at that time as to the possible effect on monarchical forms of government of the

[1] Hansard, vol. cvii, p. 707.

wave of revolutionary and anti-Christian activity which was declaring itself more openly every day as "the lineal and recognised offspring of the French Directory," and which was, later, to find inspiration in the Falck laws in Germany.

The political history of modern Italy in so far as its revolutionary and anti-Christian character, and its attitude towards the Holy See, are concerned is a long chapter. One Italian statesman after another lent his name and influence to an anti-Christian conspiracy. Mazzini spent his life in propagating a programme subversive of Christianity and of monarchy. His autobiography shows that the King of Sardinia was used as a mask and a tool in the effort to create throughout Italy an anti-Christian republic. From Cavour to Ratazzi, from Ratazzi to Ricasoli, from Ricasoli to Minghetti, from Minghetti to Depretis, that anti-Christian blight always revealed itself in every successive change. The Catholic electors largely refused to vote, so that at one time 150,000 voters were in the position to return a Parliament which was popularly supposed abroad to represent a population of 26,000,000. The result was that the government of Italy was in the hands of an all-powerful minority for years, just as Soviet Russia is to-day.

A brief outline of the political happenings in Italy from April 12, 1850, when Pius IX returned to Rome from his exile at Gaeta, to September 20, 1870, when the Italian troops entered and took forcible possession of the Papal capital in the name of Italian unity, will make clear the penultimate phase of the Roman Question.

The Government of Piedmont was not above employing every means that came to hand to attain the goal it had set itself—the complete suppression of the States of the Church and the creation of a united Kingdom of Italy, with Rome as its capital and the House of Savoy on its throne. That an understanding was impossible between Rome and Piedmont may be attributed to the hostile policy of Piedmont towards the Church, manifested in its questionable relations with Garibaldi and Mazzini, and in the employment of secret funds to stir revolt against the Church in its own territory.

In March 1861 Victor Emmanuel II was proclaimed King of Italy. Already Piedmont had begun to play a rôle in European affairs when it joined the Western Powers in the Crimean War against Russia, and, although powerful friends were won by joining the Allies, Cavour was unable at the Peace Congress of Paris in 1856 to gain their assent to his plans for conquest in Italy. The Alliance of Plombières between Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel II provided for the creation of a kingdom in northern Italy with 12,000,000 inhabitants. In return for her consent to the incorporation by Sardinia of Venetia, Lombardy, Parma, and Modena at the expense of Austria, France was to receive the patrimony of the House of Savoy and also Nice.

Another comfortable arrangement made at this time at the expense of others was the agreement to call into life another kingdom—in central Italy—composed of Tuscany and the greater part of the Papal States. The Pope was to be permitted to retain Rome with its environs. The war against

Austria was successful, but did not fulfil the ambitions of Cavour; Lombardy, indeed, fell to Sardinia, but Venetia remained Austrian. Napoleon III's assurance that Italy should be "free" from the Alps to the Adriatic proved an empty boast.

During the war with Austria the secret organisations of Cavour in central Italy were not inactive. The rulers of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany were driven from their thrones and out of their lands. The Pope broke off diplomatic relations with Piedmont following on the revolutions in the Romagna, in the Marches, and in Umbria. The independence of Italy was proclaimed from province to province. In the Romagna the National Convention of September 1859 decided to cast its lot with Sardinia.

Napoleon III conceived the plan of a European Congress which should endeavour to bring order out of the Italian chaos; he abandoned this idea, however, when his vacillating mind became convinced that nothing could be accomplished in central Italy without resort to force of arms. In his *Le pape et le Congrès* the French Counsellor La Guéronnière discloses what were the intentions of the Emperor regarding the fate of the Pope's dominions. The secession of the Romagna was to be declared to have been the will of its people and recognised as such, and the Pope would have to content himself with Rome and the Patrimony of Peter, but, as the Supreme Head of more than 200,000,000 Catholics, to be independent of any political sovereignty. Napoleon III ventured to advise the Pontiff to accept the inevitable, to withdraw all claim to the separated provinces and to

rely upon the guarantees of the European Powers. Pius IX refused.

Again Napoleon III changed his ground, proposing to leave Victor Emmanuel II a free hand in central Italy in return for the annexation of Savoy and Nice to France. Shortly after Cavour returned to power in January 1860, Napoleon III appeared with still another patch-work proposal: Sardinia should absorb only Parma and Modena, Tuscany was to retain its independence, and Victor Emmanuel II should rule the Legations in the name of the Pope. In the meantime the schemes for the consolidation of all Italy under one Crown were being carried out untiringly. Without taking Napoleon III into his confidence, Cavour called a plebiscite of the people of all the central provinces, including the Papal Romagna, to decide whether they would unite with a Kingdom of Italy; the result was a large majority for annexation, and on March 25 Victor Emmanuel II assumed the government of all this territory.

Events were beginning to gather momentum: Garibaldi made the conquest of Sicily and Naples, with which he might have been content had he not fallen under the influence of the Mazzini following which awoke in him a desire to press on to Rome to drive out the French and make an end to the rule of the Pope. On September 7 Cavour sent a threatening ultimatum to Cardinal Antonelli, the Papal Secretary of State, demanding the expulsion of the foreign soldiers in the service of the Pope. Cardinal Antonelli's protest was answered by a Piedmontese invasion of the Papal territory; General de Lamoricière, the commander

of the Papal troops, was defeated at the battle of Castelfidardo on September 18, 1860, and on October 11 the Sardinian Parliament ordered the annexation of the Papal provinces of Umbria and the Marches. There was now nothing left of the Roman States beyond Rome and the Patrimony of Peter.

After the proclamation of Victor Emmanuel II as King of Italy on March 17, 1861, Cavour's successor, Ricasoli, made overtures to the Holy See which could not be accepted, nor was Napoleon III's offer to act as intermediary to have a better fate—it was met by Cardinal Antonelli's *Non possumus*.

Garibaldi's attempt to take Rome in the summer of 1862 appears to have been contrary to the wishes of the Italian Government, inasmuch as it threatened him with armed opposition. The 2,000 Sicilian volunteers which were landed on the coast of Calabria were compelled to surrender late in August.

The hungry eyes of Turin were now being directed towards the capital, but the French Emperor refused to withdraw the troops which were then still quartered in Rome, and in December 1862 the conversations between Paris and Turin relative to the Roman situation were interrupted for a period of nearly two years. When the negotiations were resumed in 1864 they were carried on with the greatest secrecy until the Convention of September 15 was signed. By this accord France agreed to withdraw her forces from Rome within two years, Italy on her part agreeing not to violate the territory of the Pope, and, further, to protect it from all outside attacks.

The seat of the Italian Government was moved in 1865 from Turin to Florence—a step on the way to Rome. The withdrawal of the French from Rome in December 1866 opened the way for Garibaldi to commence anew his campaign against the Papacy; he travelled from place to place in north and central Italy inciting the people to rise against the Pope. Napoleon III forced the Italian Government to curtail Garibaldi's activities until a more opportune moment, and in September 1867 the red-shirt leader was brought to Caprera to submit to the semblance of internment. This did not prevent his volunteers from invading the Papal territory, where they suffered reverses in a series of unimportant engagements, the prelude to the battle of Monte Libretti on October 12, which brought an ultimatum from Paris to the Italian Minister, Rattazzi, offering him the choice between the suppression of the Garibaldians or an open breach with France. Rattazzi chose the simpler expedient of retiring from office.

Again the Italian Government sought by any and every means to foster an insurrection in Rome. On October 22 outrages were committed in various quarters of the city, several members of the Papal Zouaves were murdered—this corps was largely recruited from abroad, numbering among its ranks the sons of several old English and Irish Catholic families.

Garibaldi, who had escaped from his benevolent captivity, possessed himself of Monte Rotundo on October 27 and at once headed for the magnet from which he could never remove his eyes. His march on Rome met with opposition at Mentana which

he had not counted on. On November 3 he was utterly routed by the Papal troops, reinforced by a French brigade under General Polhès. The Garibaldians lost one thousand men who fell in the battle, and fourteen hundred who were taken prisoners to Rome.

The Franco-Prussian war removed the last obstacle in the pathway of the Italians to Rome; the French troops were recalled on August 10, 1870, for the defence of their own country. The Italian Parliament in its session of August 20 demanded the solution of the situation "in agreement with the wishes of the nation." The Council of Ministers gave effect to this demand on September 6 by issuing directions for the occupation of Rome, and on September 8 Italian soldiery crossed the frontier. On the same day Victor Emmanuel II wrote his transparent letter to Pius IX announcing his intention to seize upon Rome by force. In that letter were these words:

"A tempest full of peril is threatening Europe. Under cover of war, which is desolating the centre of the Continent, the Party of the Cosmopolitan Revolution is increasing in hardihood and audacity, and is preparing, especially in the provinces governed by Your Holiness, to give the last blows to the Monarchy and to the Papacy."

The answer of Pius IX to this masterpiece of royal chicanery was that Victor Emmanuel's letter was unworthy of a son who boasted of his Catholic Faith and who vaunted his kingly loyalty. Cardinal Antonelli informed Count Ponza di San Martino, the bearer of the King's communication to the

Pope, that it was a question of an outrage in no way justified by the fear of a revolution, Rome being perfectly quiet. But Rome had fallen, for the resistance to the Italian troops twelve days later was a passive one, Pius IX had ordered that the defence should be only such as would be sufficient to establish the violence of the act, and that capitulation should follow upon a breach being made in the walls of Rome. On the same day, September 20, 1870, the diplomatic representatives accredited to the Holy See were handed a solemn protest against the usurpation of authority in the city which for a thousand years had been ruled from the Chair of Peter.

The tidings of such great historical import—the birth of a Nation and the disappearance from the map of a great State—were received with varied feelings in different countries; Catholic peoples were naturally cast down, although the Government of National Defence which had replaced the Empire in France hastened to offer its congratulations to Italy. Another country whose people, if not its government, had held fast to the old Faith, Austria, seems to have found the situation a particularly embarrassing one: explaining that it was not in a position to rupture its good relations with Italy by entering a protest, but that it would use its good offices to insure the personal safety of the Sovereign Pontiff and of his independence in fulfilling his spiritual mission. Prussia welcomed the change. Possibly both Austria and Prussia were later to regret their sympathetic attitude in 1870 to the unified Italy which was destined to play a leading rôle in the Great War

against these two countries.[1] Protestant countries received the news of the seizure of Rome "with joy."[2] The congratulations conveyed to Italy by Crémieux, as the mouthpiece of the Government of National Defence in France, were very welcome to the Italian Prime Minister, Visconti-Venosta, who hastened to express officially the thanks of the new government in Rome to the almost equally new one in Paris.

On July 2, 1871, King Victor Emmanuel II made his triumphant entry into Rome, which was then declared to be the capital of Italy.

[1] Italy declared war on Austria on May 24, 1915.
[2] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xv.

Chapter II

THE ROMAN QUESTION

1870—1929

THE entry of the troops of the Italian King into the "Patrimonium Petri" through the breach they had made in the walls of Rome at the Porta Pia on the Twentieth of September 1870, and the seizure by them of the ancient capital of the Popes, crystallised the Roman Question. The rule of a thousand years seemed at an end. Pius IX was urged to flee from Rome, but he did not commit that fault. Pontiff of Rome, he remained steadfast at his post. He kept in the retirement of the Vatican, the first of the "prisoners" for fifty-nine years. From the Vatican he delivered his solemn protest against the indignity to which he had been subjected, and declared that he would not leave it until justice had been rendered to the Church. The wisdom of the Pope's decision not to leave Rome, as he had been urged to do on the entrance of the usurping government, has long been vindicated—that vindication received its seal by the solemn Act of the Eleventh of February 1929 at St. John Lateran.

When the Italian monarchy was about to enter Rome it gave royal pledges for the entire preservation and perpetuity of the dignity and independence of the Sovereign Pontiff. On September 8, twelve days before the violent invasion took place, King Victor Emmanuel II wrote these words to Pius IX:

> "The government of the King will protect the interest which the whole Catholic world possesses in the entire independence of the Sovereign Pontiff."

We find here the proof that a large part of the world was acknowledged to have an interest in that independence. The royal letter continues:

"The government of the King is firm in assuring the guarantees necessary to the spiritual independence of the Holy See, and that the head of Catholicity shall preserve on the banks of the Tiber a seat honourable and independent of all human sovereignty."

On October 9, 1870, a decree was signed, by which Rome was annexed to the Italian Kingdom; one of its clauses asserts that:

"The Supreme Pontiff preserves the dignity and inviolability and all the personal prerogatives of sovereignty by a law for this purpose which will be sanctioned, and all conditions required to guarantee it, together with its territorial liberties and the free exercise of the authority of the Holy See."

In the following year, on May 13, 1871, the law on the relations between the Pope and the Italian Government was passed (Law of Guarantees [1]). Its first clause runs as follows:

"Prerogatives of the Sovereign Pontiff and the Holy See.—Article 1. The person of the Sovereign Pontiff is sacred and inviolable. Article 2. Any attempt against the person of the Sovereign Pontiff and of provocation to commit the same shall be punished with the same penalties as any attempts against the person of the King. . . . Article 13. In the city of Rome and the six suburbicarian bishoprics (the sees or dioceses around about the walls of Rome), the seminaries, the academies, the schools, and the other Catholic institutes founded for the education and

[1] *Vide* Appendix III.

culture of ecclesiastics, shall continue to depend solely on the Holy See without any interference of the scholastic authorities of the Kingdom."

Cardinal Manning declares[1] that never was a sovereignty more utterly mocking offered to any man, as a brief account of the legislation which took place after May 15, 1871, will make plain.

The first act was the seizure of all property whatsoever belonging to all ecclesiastical bodies and foundations, excepting only a few buildings that were exempted by name, and these were left—it is so stated in the Law—to be for the *enjoyment* of the Sovereign Pontiff. It did not even say left in his possession : neither the Vatican nor the Lateran Palace nor any portion of them was said to be left to him or to be his by possession.

The government of Italy next seized Church property of the value of 800,000,000 lire, a vast sum for those days—for the sake of comparison, it was only 25 per cent. less than the war indemnity exacted at about the same time by Germany from France at the conclusion of their war. After this came the drastic suppression of all religious Orders, in spite of the fact that a religious Order is a spiritual corporation created by the Church and cannot be abolished by any authority less than that by which it was created. It was a distinct violation of the spiritual authority of the Holy See to suppress a religious Order, therefore the Article in the law providing for and guaranteeing the free exercise of the spiritual authority of the Holy See was violated by this suppression. Four thousand houses

[1] Manning, *The Independence of the Holy See*, London, 1877.

of such religious Orders were thus suppressed, and fifty thousand persons—men and women who had spent their whole lives in prayer and good works—were turned out without the means of subsistence. The effect of this suppression upon the organisation of the Holy See can best be understood when it is remembered that the religious Orders contained men who were the counsellors of the Pope, members of the College of Cardinals, and of the congregations and departments by which the Church was administered, men whose lives were spent in literary work and in keeping alive the tradition of sacred learning in the Church. The theologians and canonists were to be found to a great extent in these Orders, just as they are to-day. That act, therefore, deprived the Holy See and the Head of the Church of the advisors and officers upon whose labours they depended. It was equally disastrous in its effect on the great field of missionary labour, drying up many sources of evangelism in heathen lands.

The next step was to introduce a law permitting civil marriages. Italy was, and is, a Catholic country, and the Catholic Church teaches that matrimony is a sacrament ; this sacrament involves obligations and duties because whatever is done by Christians in a civil commonwealth is done by them as citizens. Marriage is an indissoluble contract during life and can be dissolved only by death.

Revolutionary changes were embodied in the laws on education. The teaching of theology in the universities was abolished—by this action the State deprived students of the possibility of acquiring the higher and scientific knowledge of

Pandimiglia

"IL DUCE"

religion. Christianity was banished from the schools and universities.

The Law of Guarantees provided that any speech insulting to the Sovereign Pontiff was liable to prosecution by law, yet in the Italian Parliament of that day abuse was heaped upon the Pope with impunity by the anti-clericals. There was no one in that Parliament to stay them or to reproach them, for clericals, bishops or priests, were forbidden to sit in the legislature, yet they were compelled to perform military service although disfranchised.

As the Law of Guarantees will be found at the end of this book as an appendix, no more need be extracted from it here to show its harshness and its injustices, or its breaches by the government that enacted it. Enough of it has been exposed to make it plain why Pius IX rejected it with indignation. That law was not a law of the Italian people, but of the Italian revolutionists who had fallen under the influence of the French Revolution, the revolution that inundated Italy with all its impieties and disorders as far back as 1796.

The object of the Law of Guarantees was to substitute juridical guarantees—dependence on the Italian Government—for the independence which constituted the international sovereignty of the Holy See. It was the work of Cavour, Visconti-Venosta, and other Italian leaders of the revolution who could hardly have had the legitimate interests of the Papacy at heart; two days after its promulgation it was rejected and formally condemned by Pius IX. In formulating its rejection the Church declared it to be a purely national law,

hence subject to the caprice of a changing majority in the Italian Parliament, which would have power at any time to abrogate it. It was further objected to because it was based on the sovereignty of the Italian State—which, indeed, considered itself to be the proprietor of the Vatican-Palace—and, finally, because it failed to secure to the Pope a real and sufficient independence. Pius IX in his Allocution[1] addressed to the Cardinals in the Consistory of March 12, 1877, has this to say of the hollowness of the guarantees (six years after their promulgation):

"Now, in truth, the world may clearly see the value and sincerity of the concessions and guarantees by which our enemies pretend to guard the liberty and dignity of the Roman Pontiff: guarantees which rest on no other foundation than the arbitrary and hostile will of a government in whose power it is to apply them, to interpret them, and to carry them into effect as it may choose, and solely for its own purposes and interests."

Cardinal Manning in that same year made a declaration which had the force of prophecy when he said: "We accept the conflict, trusting in the power of moral right, and in the 'victory that overcometh the world,' our Faith." It has taken a long time, although not long as time is counted in slow-moving history, for the power of moral right to assert itself, but now it is asserted and Justice has prevailed and Faith has won the victory.

Pius IX also expressed his faith in these words:

"Do not think, Venerable Brethren, that in these hardships and sufferings, our courage is broken or that we have

[1] *Vide* Appendix IV.

lost confidence in the decrees of Almighty God. Ever since the seizure of our territory we have resolved to keep guard at the tomb of blessed Peter over the interests of the Catholic Church, and, therefore, to stay in Rome rather than to seek a quiet resting-place in other lands. We have not ceased, with God's help, to strive for the advancement of His cause ; and still persevere, defending, step by step, against the usurpation of the revolution, the little that remains."

In his Allocution the Pope enumerates the hardships and sufferings of the Church in Italy caused by the laws and decrees referred to above which resulted in the curtailment of its powers for the advancement of learning and carrying the Gospel to distant lands ; in forcing young ecclesiastics to take up arms at an age when they were about to consecrate themselves to God ; in the seizure of Church property ; in the prevention of the ministry from freely exercising its spiritual office, which was the effect of the law entitled " On the abuses of the Clergy." The harmful effect of all these laws and decrees could not, apparently, be overstated. Yet, as Cardinal Manning pointed out :

" What has been the effect of all this on the Church ? Never since the Church was founded was it so widespread as it is at this hour. Never since the unity of the Apostles was the Church more solid in unity. Never in the history of the episcopate were the bishops of the whole Church so closely united to their Head and so inseparably united to one another. Never in Christian history can we find a time when the priesthood of the Church was so united to their bishops. Never, at any time, in all the records of the Church, can it be found that the people were so united

to their pastors. The unity of the Church, without and within the unity of faith, the unity of fidelity, is greater at this hour than it was ever before. The blows of the hammer which were aimed to disintegrate and to destroy have only welded together in a more indissoluble mass the unity of the Catholic Church."

Cardinal Manning wrote these words more than two generations ago—they are truer now than they were even then.

Never was a law so unsuitably labelled as the Law of Guarantees. A law which disposed of the position and rights of the Pope could be nothing else than the determining factor of the dependence of the Pope on the pleasure of the Italian Government. If an independence can exist that is wrapped up in dependence, then the Law of Guarantees might have accomplished this miracle. However, such peculiar form of independence cannot exist; that law merely guided the relations between the Holy See and Italy into the *impasse* known as the Roman Question. The Law of Guarantees had an unmistakable character—to transform the Papacy into an Italian institution. Even if this was not the intention of its authors, the subsequent acts of the Italian Government directed against the independence and authority of the Pope—an independence and authority which the law was alleged to have been framed to protect—bear out this view.

Visconti-Venosta's Note to the Powers, informing them officially of the annexation of Rome, makes the later action of his government in its interference with the liberty of the Holy See, the oppression of the religious Orders, and the closing up of Catholic charitable institutions seem all the more cynical.

The scant regard their authors had for the assurances given in Victor Emmanuel II's letter to Pius IX and in the Law of Guarantees has been sufficiently noted. The assurances the Italian Prime Minister gave to the Powers in his Note were equally virtuous in protesting the complete liberty the Pope was to enjoy. History has shown them to have been equally valueless. This is the substance of the Note:

Our first duty, in making Rome the capital of Italy, is to declare that the Catholic world will not be menaced in its Faith by the achievement of our unity. The great position which belongs to the Holy Father personally will not be lessened, his sovereign character, his pre-eminence above other Catholic Princes, the immunities and the civil-list which belong to him in that quality will be amply guaranteed to him; his palaces and his residences will have the privilege of exterritoriality. The exercise of his high spiritual mission will be assured him by a double order of guarantees: by the free and continual communication with the faithful, by the representatives which he will continue to have accredited to the Powers, and by the representatives which the Powers will continue to accredit to him; finally, and above all, by the separation of the Church and the State which Italy has already proclaimed, and which the Government of the King proposes to apply in his territory as soon as Parliament has given its sanction to the proposals of the government. In order to reassure the faithful as to our intentions, in order to convince them it would be impossible for us to bring any pressure to bear upon the decisions of

the Holy See or to endeavour to make a political instrument of religion, nothing seems to us more effectual than the complete liberty which we grant to the Church on our territory.

This Note discloses the fact that the independence offered to the Holy See was a thinly-veiled dependence. Pius IX would have none of it.

We have said a word in the last chapter to show the satisfaction of the new government in France with what had passed in Italy. The new orientation of European politics that followed immediately after the Franco-Prussian war gave the Italian statesmen the agreeable assurance that their young State was warmly embraced by Germany and Austria as well as by republican France. The prevailing Liberalism in those three countries swamped public opinion with sympathy for Italy. France dilated on the ties of race, and declared that the roots of the Franco-Prussian war were to be found in the contest of a high civilisation on one side and Germanic brutality and mediæval feudalism on the other. The Germans pointed to the community of ideals which bound Italian and German Liberalism in brotherhood for ever because each had created a united State.[1]

The drift of the times carried the leading statesmen with it. Jules Favre, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, who shared Italy's aspirations from the beginning, pointed out to Italy the common foe, Germany. Count Beust, the Austrian Chancellor, warned Minghetti against Bismarck's intrigues, and recommended himself at the same time as Italy's

[1] von Nostitz-Rieneck, *Stimme der Zeit*, Vienna, August 1917.

true friend.[1] While the others talked, the Iron Chancellor acted. By means of the Speech from the Throne he caused the Reichstag to emphasise in its Address that it was anxious to see an end put to the international character of the Roman Question, and at the same time he conveyed to the Florentine[2] Government through the Italian Minister in Berlin that, as a constitutional minister, he felt himself to be bound by the decision of the Reichstag. The intention of the Reichstag Address was to dispose of the Roman Question and the Law of Guarantees as being purely Italian domestic concerns.

This is the same Bismarck who, in conversation with Cardinal Bonnechose, gave the impression of not being at all averse from intervention in favour of the Pope. In his biography[3] Cardinal Bonnechose reports Bismarck as having said to him :

That he did not approve of Italy's campaign, but Prussia could not undertake two tasks at the same time, therefore, it would be impossible for the moment to make a declaration of war against Italy in favour of the Pope ; besides, one could not expect German Protestants to shed their blood for the Pope. However, there were other ways of aiding his cause and helping it on to victory ; the Berlin Cabinet would surely find the means and make use of them.

What was the Roman Question for the earthly Powers of that day ? A political plaything to be

[1] J. Favre, *Rome et la République française.*

[2] The seat of the Italian Government was " resting " at Florence on its way from Turin to Rome.

[3] Besson, *Vie du Cardinal Bonnechose*, 1887.

tossed from one to the other. Nothing could have had less prospect of success than the proposed Congress (1871) of the "Powers which have Catholic subjects"[1]—a Congress to consider the relations between the Pope and Italy. It was discussed in March and April; it cannot be said to have been shipwrecked—it was never launched.

Gladstone was called upon in the House of Commons to explain at about this time a letter he had written from Downing Street—he was then Chancellor of the Exchequer—on November 30, 1870, in which he expressed the opinion that Her Majesty's Government considered all that related to the adequate support of the dignity of the Pope and to his personal freedom and independence in the discharge of his spiritual functions to be legitimate matter for their notice. He stated the position the Government assumed with regard to the question . . . the Government believed that the liberty of the head of the religion of many millions of our fellow-subjects, his liberty and personal independence, was a legitimate matter for their notice. That was the position they maintained and that they meant to adhere to.[2]

The Roman Question came up in the House of Lords on the same day. Lord Denbigh quoted from the speeches of Lords Brougham and Ellenborough in 1849,[3] which were occasioned by the European interest at that time in the Roman Question, and ended his speech with the declaration that the taking of Rome did not concern the

[1] The Sultan of Turkey, for example, had Catholic subjects.
[2] Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 204, 649.
[3] *Vide* preceding chapter.

question of whether the Catholic or the Protestant religion was the right one, but that it must be judged from the standpoint of the rights of nations which, at the same time, touched on the social rights of millions of His Majesty's subjects.

It is plain from Lord Granville's defence of the Foreign Office, that the Italian Green Book contained serious misrepresentations as to the views of British statesmen, and had been the subject of sharp comment in the Foreign Minister's despatches to the British representative in Florence.

There seems to have been a mistaken opinion current in England that the Pope would go into voluntary exile. Gladstone stated in the House of Commons on August 3, 1871, that great interest was taken in all matters relating to a change of residence on the part of the Pope. England was quite ready to grant Pius IX an asylum. Lord Granville wrote in August 1870 to the British diplomatic representatives that the battleship *Defence* was lying at Civita Vecchia at the disposal of the Pope should he desire to seek asylum in England.

In France the Roman Question came before the National Convention in Versailles. On July 22, 1871, a few weeks after the publication of the Law of Guarantees, Thiers [1] announced that the Question was one of immense concern :

" The King of Italy sojourns in Rome, the capital of the peninsula, while Pius IX is limited to the Vatican and St. Peter's, and, although encompassed by the sorrow of Catholics and the reverence of all the world, he is, never-

[1] Thiers was virtually President of the Convention : his actual title was *Chef du pouvoir exécutif*.

theless, locked up. All Catholics have reason, have an incontestable right, to ask : ' Is he free ? ' "

The Convention was petitioned by the French Episcopate to intervene in the interest of the Pope. The debates which followed, although they were to lead to nothing, showed, at least, that the liberty of the Pope was a matter of international concern and a challenge to Catholic freedom of conscience. The Roman Question repeatedly claimed the attention of this assembly. That peculiarly tragic note which weighs over debates in parliamentary deliberations was rarely so much in evidence. The tragedy lies therein that the representatives of unholy Wrong sit at ease and enjoy all the advantages the position of great power confers, while the representatives of holy Right give way to force : there the Wrong, here the Right, and, thanks to their positions, no way can be found to assist Right to obtain justice which would be politically possible and have a chance of success. Hardly ever has this situation been more plainly revealed than in Thiers' great speech, a speech before which every other utterance on the subject sank into insignificance.[1]

The remarks of Pajot [2] and Tarteron,[3] who were

[1] von Nostitz-Rieneck, *Stimme der Zeit*, August 1917.

[2] ,Cette prétendue loi de garanties garantit rien absolument, car les pouvoirs publics qui les ont consenties pourront, quand ils le voudront, au moindre dissentiment qui pourra naître, et les causes en seront faciles à trouver, la modifier ou même l'abroger. . . . Annales 4, 246. Journal off. a.a. o. 2176 b.

[3] Le chef d'une religion universelle, indépendant de toute forme politique . . . devient lui-même le sujet d'un gouvernement, qui acquiert par là l'intolérable privilège d'étendre indirectement sa main sur des citoyens de toutes les nations du monde. Annales 4, 246. Journal off. a.a. o. 2177 a.

the *rapporteurs* on this occasion, showed a perfect comprehension of the Roman situation. The former stated that the Law of Guarantees guaranteed exactly nothing, that a surety that gave security only when it willed to, increased it or decreased it at will, that could be retracted at will, was a guarantee of no value. Tarteron drew attention to the intolerable prerogatives which fell to Italy. If the Pope was to be a subject of the Italian State and amenable to its laws, then all Catholics would be placed indirectly under that State, and that State would lay hands on the consciences of the Catholic world.

The sending of an Ambassador by the French Government could not fail to be welcome to the Vatican. M. d'Harcourt arrived in Rome in good time to be able to form an opinion as to the sincerity of the intentions of the Italian Government in regard to the liberty of action to be permitted to the Holy See. For six days before the new Ambassador's official reception on April 26, 1871, the Italian Senate had had the Law of Guarantees under consideration, and during those days paragraphs of the Law were being amended, or added to, which struck at the sovereign rights of the Holy See and were offensive to the dignity of the Pope.

M. d'Harcourt reported to his government the conversation at the audience he had of the Pope a few weeks before the entry of Victor Emmanuel II into Rome (July 2, 1871). This conversation was to be curiously altered, and given a contrary sense, in the *Archives diplomatiques* of 1874. Pius IX, in answer to Marquis d'Harcourt's greeting when

presenting his Letters of Credence, is made to abandon all claim to his States in these words :

"Sovereignty in times such as these is not to be craved. All that I desire is a little corner of earth where I shall be master. If it was offered to return my States to me I should refuse, but as long as I have not that little corner of earth I cannot exercise my spiritual mission in its amplitude."

An examination of Jules Favre's book, *Rome et la République française*, will show that four words were omitted from the French Ambassador's despatch, whether intentionally or not is unknown, but the statement attributed wrongly to the Pope naturally created great discussion. The quotation should have been :[1] "All that I desire is a little corner of earth where I shall be master. That does not mean that if it was offered to return my States to me I should refuse." ("*Tout ce que je désire, c'est un petit coin de terre où je serais le maître. Ce n'est pas que si l'on m'offrait mes États, je refuserais. . . .*") The four words *Ce n'est pas que* made all the difference. A fortnight later the Pope in the Encyclical *Ubi nos* of May 15, 1871, renewed his insistence upon his rights. Neither Pius IX nor Leo XIII failed at any time steadfastly to maintain these rights nor to protest against the spoliation of which the Church had been the victim. These protests were to be solemnly reasserted under Pius X, Benedict XV, and Pius XI.

In the pontificate of Pius IX after 1871, and in

[1] Favre explained how his error arose in a letter which he wrote on November 13, 1871, to the Editor of the *Journal officiel de la République française*. This letter appeared in the *Journal* of November 16, 1871. *Vide* Appendix VII.

those of the Popes who followed him until this year of grace 1929, there has been no change in the Roman Question. We shall therefore take up the story again from the time the negotiations were commenced in 1926 until they were ended on February 11, 1929, in the following chapter, lingering only long enough to relate an anecdote of the pontificate of Leo XIII concerning the ambition of William II of Germany to fill that place in history which Crispi had allotted to the statesman who should solve the Roman Question.

The German Emperor made a number of visits to Leo XIII. On the occasion when he brought his brother, Prince Henry, and Bismarck in his suite an extraordinary incident happened at the Vatican. William II was at that time still quite young and anxiously watched over by the man "of blood and iron" to see that he committed no youthful indiscretions. An audience of the Pope had been arranged for the Emperor to be alone with him for three-quarters of an hour; the members of the suite were to attend in an adjoining room.

William II had recently become reconciled to the *Centrum*, the important Catholic party in Germany, which had been of service to him in carrying out his policies; possibly to show his gratitude, William II resolved to try his hand at finding a solution for the Roman Question. In any event it is recounted that Bismarck was aware of his master's intention and resolved to thwart it with the help of Prince Henry, and that he secretly informed Crispi of what was afoot.

The Emperor arrived in state at the Vatican from

his Embassy and was ushered into the private apartment of the Pope. The young ruler was so overcome with emotion and nervousness that he first let fall the gold snuff-box which he had brought as a present for the Pontiff and then his helmet. Whatever passed at that interview, it was interrupted unceremoniously long before the allotted time had expired by Prince Henry opening the door of the Pope's cabinet and intruding himself into the conversation between his brother and the Holy Father. The violence of this action on Prince Henry's part in infringing Vatican etiquette, which prescribes a very strict ceremonial for royal visits, probably gave rise to the stories that he forced his way into the presence of the Pope in spite of guards and courtiers. One is led almost to picture him striding over the bodies of the Swiss Guards and *Guardia Nobile* whom he had knocked down on his pathway to the Pope's door. Bismarck's ruse was successful.

Chapter III

THE GENESIS OF THE TREATY OF CONCILIATION AND THE CONCORDAT

WHEN on February 6, 1922, the newly-elected Pope appeared on the outer loggia of St. Peter's and gave the pontifical blessing to the multitudes kneeling below, the whole world saw in this departure from the practice of his immediate predecessors that Pius XI was a man of peace, and not a few were quick to discover in it the spirit which might lead to the solution of the Roman Question.

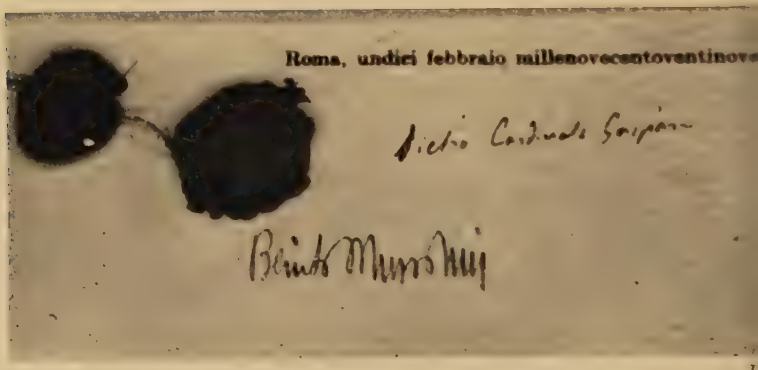
For the first time in seventy-six years this first act of a Sovereign Pontiff, the blessing, *Urbi et Orbi*, was performed in public; since 1870 Pius IX, Leo XIII, Pius X, and Benedict XV, who had preceded him on the Papal throne, imparted it from the interior of St. Peter's. Pius XI electrified the Romans massed in the noble Piazza of Bernini when he stepped out on the balcony far above their heads—it was an augury that the "Prisoner of the Vatican" was to be a captive no longer. This was the first step in the reconciliation between Church and State in Italy, now happily achieved.

If this gesture of the Pope's was the initial move along the pathway of peace, it must be admitted that the government of Mussolini was not slow to respond in the same spirit. The last stronghold which could resist the triumphant march of Fascism has capitulated to friendly overtures. What the Italian Governments since 1870 have

not had the power or the greatness of vision to lend a hand to accomplish has come to pass through the wisdom of the *Duce*. To Mussolini must be given full credit for a tolerance and understanding unknown to those other heads of the Italian Government who have controlled the affairs of the Italy that arose out of the revolution of 1870—that " United Italy " which never at any time until to-day was united on its policy towards the Holy See. The temper that has animated the Vatican throughout nearly sixty years of injustice and oppression has been one of restraint and dignity; this has been fully recognised in the overtures made by the Fascist Government. The reconciliation is complete, and the uncrowned ruler of Italy, by making peace with the spiritual ruler of three hundred millions, has earned the gratitude of generations to come.

By its far-sighted action Fascism has gained an important advanced position among the Catholic nations. It can point to having made reparation for the wrongs of the revolution which deprived the saintly Pius IX of his temporal sovereignty by seizing the Papal States. In passing, it may be recalled that the tentative contacts during the reign of Leo XIII between the Italian Prime Minister, Crispi, and Cardinals Rampolla and Jacobini might have led to the results now accomplished, for the desire manifested by Leo XIII and his Secretaries of State for a peaceful solution of the Roman Question was well known. Perhaps the reason for failure may be found in the words of that avowed enemy of the Church, Crispi himself, who said: " The greatest Italian will be he who

SIGNING THE TREATY



THE SIGNATURES AND THE SEALS
Of Cardinal Gasparri and Cavaliere Mussolini

solves the Roman Question." Crispi evidently was not the " greatest Italian."

The year 1922 witnessed two events that were destined to be fruitful for the welfare of the Catholic Church and Italy—the election of Pius XI and the Fascist revolution. Almost immediately after the peaceful revolution of that year it became apparent that a new feeling was growing up and taking possession of the relations between the two powers ; this contact became more intimate when the *Partito Popolare* had been swept away. The tangible results were manifested in the increasing cordiality of these relations, and in the journey of His Eminence Cardinal Merry del Val as Papal Legate to Assisi to represent the Pope at the great celebrations there in honour of St. Francis. A most striking proof of the new attitude of the government, and of its abandonment of the anti-Christian policy of its forerunners, is to be seen in its action in bringing back the Crucifix into the schools from where it had been banished.

More than two years ago, in August 1926, it was known that conversations between responsible representatives of Church and State were under way ; presumably, these were based on the same foundations as those which have led to the signing of the present Treaty of Conciliation and the Concordat. At one time, however, it appears that the Grand Council of the Fascists did not all agree with Mussolini, the territorial sovereignty of the Pope being the stumbling-block. Since then all opposition from that source has been cleared away and is mute before the power of the *Duce*. Where the irresolute leaders of the revolution of 1870 drew back in fear

of shipwrecking their policy of spoliation in pursuance of a so-called Liberalism, the leader of to-day —who stands alone and is responsible to nobody— dared to forge ahead and solve the old-standing question.

Conflicts between Church and State have had ever an overwhelming influence on the history of the human race. In the course of such differences in recent times the situation which we have become accustomed to call the Roman Question has rocked the relations of the Italian States, united since 1870, to their foundations.

During the fifty-eight years that have elapsed since the last vestige of temporal rule was wrested from the Popes these relations have been governed, in so far as the Kingdom of Italy is concerned, by the so-called Law of Guarantees, but this law has never been recognised by any Pope. How hopeless, therefore, the outlook for a solution must have been is apparent from the fact that no Italian Government during the reign of three Kings of the House of Savoy and of four Popes had dared to put forward a plan that had any chance of acceptance, and it must also be remembered that Victor Emmanuel II and his son held so resolutely to a "*Roma intangibile*" as a non-debatable thesis that not even the Vatican Palace itself, the residence of the Head of Catholic Christendom, was recognised as being the property of the Holy See, for in the Law of Guarantees it was purposely and expressly described as the "seat" of the Curia, not as its property. Hence it will be seen that hardly any European problem existed which seemed so difficult as this Roman one which is older even than the

destruction of the Papal States. Pope Leo XIII, who missed no opportunity that presented itself of emphasising the indignity of the position in which the Pope was placed owing to the unlawful seizures of 1870, himself no longer believed in the possibility of a full reconstruction of the States of the Church. In his famous letter of June 15, 1887, addressed to Cardinal Rampolla, Papal Secretary of State, he firmly upheld the claim to temporal power, but indicated that the Curia would be satisfied with the return of Rome, by which the sovereign rights of the Pontiff would be assured. Since that time much thought has been devoted to endeavours to find a *modus vivendi*. Efforts to this end were made even during the administration of Crispi, one of the leading statesmen concerned in the movement looking to Italian unity. Never, however, did it seem possible to surmount the difficulties which stood in the way of this problem.

Like a thunderclap, therefore, came the news on February 7, 1929, that Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State to His Holiness, had invited the diplomatic representatives accredited to the Holy See to his apartments in the Vatican in order to announce to them that the *modus vivendi*, so long sought in vain, had been found at last. This astounding news was published to the world from the Vatican, and not from the Palazzo Chigi, the old palace of the Austrian Ambassador to the Quirinal in pre-war days, now the official residence of the Head of the Italian Government ; this was but another evidence of Mussolini's tact and good-will. The place of this great Italian statesman is

now confirmed and assured, for, whatever the outcome of the Treaty and Concordat that have been signed, whatever and however far-spread their results, one thing seems certain—that they will bring about a tremendous strengthening of Italy's international position. An age-old grievance of Catholic peoples against that country, owing to its harsh and illegal treatment of their Spiritual Father, has been resolved. Mussolini has played the trump card in his foreign policy to date.

As for the Holy See, the gains are equally great; the complete restoration of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, and the establishment of cordial relations with the Italian Government—every source of friction being now removed—would in themselves have been a great victory, but there were other vital questions, long a source of sorrow and anxiety for the Church, among them juvenile education; the status of the religious Orders; religious marriages; to mention but a few of the more important. Happily these have found their solution, while its restored liberty of action will enable the Vatican to make its social, political, and internationally-beneficent influence greater than it has ever been before.

The genius of Mussolini has grasped the fact that the Holy See is a greater empire than any other, and that it has lost nothing by maintaining a political isolation, while for Italy, and especially for Fascism, the solution of the problem would be a political triumph. Nor does Mussolini's clairvoyance date from to-day only; seven years ago, on the day following the election of Pius XI to the Papacy, the *Duce* wrote these words:

" As a citizen of Milan [Pius XI is a native of Desio, in the Province of Milan, and was Archbishop of Milan when elected Pope], if only by adoption, I participate in the general joy of the Milanese at the election of Cardinal Ratti as Head of the Catholic Church. The new Pope, besides those qualities which I call religious, possesses the attributes and qualities which render him sympathetic even to our world—the profane world. He is a man of great culture, historical, political and philosophical. Having lived a great deal abroad he is perfectly conversant with the situation in Western Europe, and like all those who have lived and striven beyond the frontiers of their own fatherland he, nevertheless, feels the liveliest sentiments of Italianism.

" I estimate that with Pius XI the relations between Italy and the Vatican will improve. The Fascists of Milan have had direct relations with the present Pontiff. On the eve of the ceremony for the unknown soldier, when the programme of that sacred function in the Cathedral was arranged, Cardinal Ratti was most courteous, and dozens of Fascist banners entered the Cathedral. As an old and valiant Alpinist the Cardinal has reached indeed the highest pinnacle."

The words of the *Duce* anticipating better relations between the two governments were prophetic.

Two other expressions of opinion by Mussolini before he came into power, both evincing his attitude towards the Holy See, may be quoted here. His friend Signor Acerbo was with him among the vast throng in the Piazza San Pietro when Pope Pius XI blessed the people the day of his election. This friend reports that Mussolini was struck by the grandeur of the spectacle and exclaimed: " It is inconceivable that the Liberal Governments have not understood the universality of the Papacy. It is the universal heir of the

Roman Empire, and represents the greatest glory of Italian history and tradition."

It was this thought which he developed in the Italian Parliament on June 21, 1921, when he was still simply a Fascist Deputy. "I declare," he said, "that the Latin and Imperial tradition of Rome is represented by Catholicism. If, as Mommsen said about twenty-five or thirty years ago, one cannot remain at Rome without a universal idea, I think, and I maintain, that the universal idea which exists at Rome to-day is that which irradiates from the Vatican." From such an Italian statesman a new attitude towards the Church could be expected confidently. He has not disappointed, for it was this recognition which animated him throughout the peace negotiations.

A shiver rippled round the world on the occasion of the last anniversary of the bloodless Fascist revolution when its leader announced that the year VII of Fascism (1929) would be an historic one, an excusable apprehension, perhaps, for the militant spirit of the *Duce* had become a byword. The fears of the timid have not been realised. It was not belligerent action that was foretold; on the contrary, it was the augury of peace—peace between Church and State in Italy, peace between the two Romes. How welcome to an era saturated with the history of war has come this history of a dove with an olive branch! If a Fascist dove of peace is a conception difficult to picture, it is, nevertheless, a permissible analogy in the present instance; those who knew the temperament of official Italy, especially that of the municipal government of Rome, ten years ago, and its uncom-

promising attitude *vis-à-vis* the Papacy, will be the first to acknowledge that the time-honoured allegory may be applied to the Mussolini who possessed the peaceful instinct, the courage, and the power to inaugurate and carry through a policy which involved an entirely new orientation, not only in the political attitude of Italy and the Roman authorities towards the Holy See, but also in their temperamental attitude—something, in truth, more difficult of achievement than mere political power.

A few days after the agreements were reached, the *Osservatore Romano* expressed the feeling of all those who welcome the new order of things in these words :

" Henceforth, in the little Vatican City, the civil authority of the Holy Father will identify itself with his spiritual sovereignty. His miniature State so thoroughly corresponds with the eternal bases on which his Chair of teaching and jurisdiction is established that no violation of it will be excusable or explicable at any time by political pretexts or sophistries. To attempt a violation of it would be to flout the judgment of contemporaries and of posterity."

None of the present generation can picture the Pope other than a " Prisoner in the Vatican," as his predecessors have been for fifty-nine years. Now all is changed ; new perspectives have opened up, the history of the Church writes " finis " to a chapter that was, after all, and in spite of loss of vast temporal power, one of greatly increased internal power for the Papacy. It is a long time since any successor of Peter has taken such a responsible step.

What were the steps that led up to the formal signature of the accord between the Holy See and the Italian Government? Professor Francesco Pacelli, the distinguished legal adviser to the Vatican, who acted in such capacity from the inception of the negotiations which culminated in the Treaty and Concordat, has made public a sketch which places vividly before us an interesting picture of the length of these negotiations, of their complex character, and, above all, of the profound spirit of conciliation shown by all who had a part to play in this historic *rapprochement*.

Professor Pacelli's story can best be given in his own words:

"The negotiations [he writes] with a view to the accord were commenced on August 6, 1926, when I had just returned from America, where I had attended the Eucharistic Congress at Chicago as a member of the Pontifical Commission in the suite of the Papal Legate, the lamented Cardinal Bonzano. I may tell you that I had foreseen, or better, I had a presentiment of the great event which was approaching, and spoke of it to persons who travelled with me on the ocean. On my arrival at Rome I knew that Professor Domenico Barone, Counsellor of State (of the Italian Government), desired to confer with me. My presentiments were to be realised. Before my conversations with him I had received the necessary instructions, and on August 6, as I have said, my first meeting with Professor Barone took place. He told me that he judged that Signor Mussolini would like to ascertain the bases on which the Roman Question might be adjusted. I replied immediately that there were two essential points on which His Holiness could not cede, that is to say, in regard to the Treaty: the reconstitution of a Pontifical State, be it never so little, with the visible and manifest sovereignty of the Pontiff

which would guarantee to the Holy Father the free exercise of his spiritual power, and in regard to the Concordat : the possibility of conferring, under certain conditions to to be determined, the value of civil law on religious marriages.

" Professor Barone gave me to understand that it would be possible to treat on these bases, and a series of conversations commenced. We met alternately at our residences or, frequently, at the Palace of Justice, where Professor Barone had his office in his quality of Secretary of the Commission of Codes. Even those who noted my assiduity at the Palace of Justice were never able to suspect the real motive for my visits, because of my being a member of the legal profession. This first series of conversations was prolonged until October 4, 1926. In fact the letter of Signor Mussolini to Professor Barone bore the date of ' National Fête of St. Francis of Assisi ' [October 4, 1926]. In this letter the Head of the Government authorised Professor Barone to continue the confidential negotiations.

" On October 6 Cardinal Gasparri in his turn wrote me a letter giving an analogous instruction, although with a reserve which was withdrawn in a second letter, dated the twenty-fourth of the same month.

" I will give you, as well, some statistics that prove the difficulty of the negotiations. There were 110 conversations between Professor Barone and myself. I had afterwards the great honour of being received in private audience 129 times by the Holy Father. These audiences, at which Cardinal Gasparri sometimes was present, lasted from three to four hours.

" Ultimately, on November 24, 1926, Professor Barone and I drew up the first text of the Treaty. Only two copies of this text were made, and in order to guard the secret better the typing of the document was entrusted to my son Charles. This first text comprised only 16 articles ; you can understand how many subsequent elaborations were necessary in arriving at a definite Treaty. It should be added that the first text, signed by Professor Barone and me,

was drawn up entirely on our personal responsibility, inasmuch as neither he nor I had any official quality. After completing the first text we commenced to draw up a list of subjects which could set forth the object of the Concordat. At this point—the end of 1926—Monsignor Borgongini Duca, Papal Secretary for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, commenced to participate in the negotiations. These conversations *à trois* took place at Cardinal Granito di Belmonte's residence at Monte Mario ; there were ten in all and they consumed the entire day, commencing at eight in the morning and lasting until six or seven in the evening. The text of the Concordat was virtually complete in February 1927 ; it was ready to be communicated to the High Contracting Parties in April of that year. Our conversations continued in the meantime, with occasional suspensions for the purpose of perfecting the text of both Treaty and Concordat, especially in the sense of preparing a list of proposals which would hasten the conclusion of the accord.

" On August 20, 1928, we drew up copies in duplicate—for ourselves and ourselves only—of the Treaty and the Concordat with the financial convention annexed. On September 3, I travelled to Ussita, near Visso, to see Cardinal Gasparri, who had the two texts under examination. The Cardinal Secretary of State handed me a letter the same day in which, while making a number of reservations on matters of detail, he declared his readiness to open the official negotiations for the solution of the Roman Question. On September 7, I went to Santa Margherita Ligure to communicate Cardinal Gasparri's decision to Professor Barone, but owing to failing health the latter could not return to Rome until September 21. On November 9 he received instructions from Signor Mussolini, in which the Head of the Government declared that he considered it possible to commence negotiations. Under date of November 22 the King of Italy designated His Excellency the Head of the Government, with power

to delegate Professor Barone as his proxy, to commence negotiations, and to sign the texts of the Treaty and of the Concordat. The Holy Father in turn, on November 25, delegated the same powers to His Eminence Cardinal Gasparri, with the faculty of proxies to Professor Barone and myself.

"The health of Professor Barone grew steadily worse, and our conversations with him less frequent, until he was obliged to keep to his bed. On December 7 he suffered a grave crisis from which he seemed to have recovered, but it was a vain illusion, for he died on January 4, 1929, a good Christian, fortified by all the comforts of the religion which became ardent in him during the negotiations. I lost a friend and the Italian State a valiant and intelligent negotiator.

"On January 7, in the evening, I was called to the telephone; the Head of the Government did me the honour to invite me to a conference. I was at Bologna on professional business. I left the city immediately, and at eight o'clock the next morning I had my first conversation with Signor Mussolini, who informed me that he would treat directly without appointing anyone in the place of Professor Barone, and he gave me a rendezvous for the same evening. I sometimes went to him in the afternoon, but more often to his private home in the Via Rasella. The conversations commenced at nine o'clock, sometimes lasting until one o'clock the following morning. I regarded the man who was before me with an infinite admiration, a man for whom neither day nor night brings repose—only constant and passionate work in the service of the nation. Mussolini again discussed the Treaty and all of the Concordat point by point. With him the negotiations proceeded very rapidly. In fact, by the elimination of any intermediary I was able each morning to report to the Holy Father the conversations of the evening before.

"The texts underwent some twenty overhaulings, for they were subjected to examinations not only by the Head

of the Government and his experts, but also by the Holy Father himself, who spent much time in prayer invoking the aid of God at the moment of concluding a treaty of such importance for Holy Church."

Professor Pacelli expressed his very great admiration for Signor Mussolini—he was struck especially by his faculty of intuition and synthesis; as soon as they were posed, the most difficult problems were immediately resolved by the *Duce*. In addition Professor Pacelli dwelt upon the Fascist leader's persuasive simplicity, which keeps the interlocutor from feeling humiliated by the superiority of the genius in whose presence he stands.

His verdict on the other High Contracting Party Professor Pacelli sums up in this glowing eulogium:

"What shall be said of the Holy Father? Only a Pope of his intelligence, of his piety, and of his courage could write this page of the history of the Church. It needed also that great courage in His Holiness which is the fruit of a virile education, by virtue of which he knows how to meet every trial, and to win every battle. The accord that he meditated so long, and so earnestly desired, has met with the approval of all Catholics and excited the admiration of the world. It could not be otherwise, because the Holy Father has given proof once more that he belongs to the category of the greatest Pontiffs which history recalls."

Thus the spiritual conflict between the chiefs of the clergy and the lay chiefs which has endured at Rome for nearly sixty years is terminated by an arrangement that makes reparation for wrongs committed against the Papacy, and at the same time secures important advantages to Italy. That the Concordat may serve the interests of the Church and of Italy in the same measure is the hope

of everyone inspired by goodwill and a sincere desire for peace, for it is indisputably a marvellous instrument of peace; there are neither conquerors nor vanquished, nor is it a dictated peace, but a compromise reached after an exhaustive study of all the interests involved—a study during which every possible consideration was given to the claims of each side; hence it is an *entente* in the true sense of the word. The tension that persisted throughout all those years has been removed; Catholics breathe more freely that the Head of their Church no longer suffers a very serious and rankling disability, while Fascist Italy has gained the support of a large part of the moral opinion of the world for its future policy, and can count upon the sympathy of the Holy See and of Catholics everywhere; for the world sees in this compromise between the spiritual and secular powers a triumph for all those humanitarian ideals, the flood of which —although as yet barely under way—is becoming more ardent in the renascence of our post-war epoch. All must rejoice to see the principle of Faith, Hope, and Charity arise with all its prestige to aid in the establishment of a veritable peace on earth. Pius XI will, assuredly, be known to history as the "Pope of Peace." Well might the shade of Pius IX rise and say of his successor in the words of the Psalmist:

"*I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay tree.*

"*Yet he passed away, and, lo, he was not: yea, I sought him, but he could not be found.*

"*Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace.*"

A most important feature of the settlement of the Roman Question is that it was arrived at without the aid, the consent, or the guarantees of any foreign Power—this is in accordance with the attitude the Holy See has always adhered to; also it would have been humiliating for Italy to have submitted to guarantees of Papal Sovereignty made by any one Power or group of Powers. Cardinal Manning said in 1875:

"If Italy should come to see that the Roman Question is, and for ever will be, a source of weakness, contention, and danger to its welfare; and, seeing this, shall solve it peacefully, as Italy alone can do, by undoing its un-Catholic and, therefore, un-Italian policy, then its unity and independence will be secured by the spontaneous co-operation of a united people, gathered around the centre of all its Christian glories. Such a solution would then be consecrated by the highest sanctions of its faith. If wise counsels prevail, and wise friends of Italy shall gain its ear, it may be again what once it was, the foremost people in the Christian world." [1]

Cardinal Newman expressed the same belief when he said that the movement for the restoration of the temporal power must come from within Rome, not from without. Cardinal Vaughan said Christendom looked to Italy and Rome to lead in vindicating the independence of the Head of Christianity. The accord has been reached in exactly the manner that the English Catholic prelates of that day insisted was the only way.

Cardinal Bourne pointed out in 1911 [2] that no

[1] Manning, *The Vatican Decrees*, London 1875.

[2] Address delivered at the National Catholic Congress, Newcastle-on-Tyne, August 4, 1911, vide *Westminster Cathedral Chronicle*, September 1911.

Italian Government had made any effort to meet the legitimate claims of the Catholics that the supreme Pontificate should be given such guarantees of civil independence as would adequately replace the temporal power which was destroyed by force of arms in 1870. His Eminence at that time expressed opinions which have been most fully justified by the Lateran agreement when he asserted :

" And let it not be said that the problem of conciliating the civil independence of the Papacy with the unity of the newly-formed Kingdom of Italy presents a problem so difficult as to be practically incapable of solution. . . . On the side of the Holy See the conditions are not likely to be too onerous. There is no desire on the part of the Papacy for temporal dominion as such, there is no lust of territory, no desire to play a part as one of the leading powers of the earth in the competition for increased worldly possessions. . . . All these existing facts show how easily with a little goodwill the Civil Independence of the Holy See might be adequately secured without detracting in any way from the essential unity of the Kingdom of Italy. The task is not beyond the powers of a loyal and upright statesmanship, and its successful accomplishment, while of supreme importance to the Catholic Church and to the members of the Church throughout the world, is of hardly smaller importance for the well-being and stability of the Kingdom of United Italy itself."

No one can question the amplitude of the concessions that have been made by the Holy See in so far as territorial considerations are concerned, concessions which have legitimatised the seizure of so much that had been confirmed to the Papacy by the possession of a thousand years. On its part

the Italian Government abrogates the old harsh and unjust laws, and solemnly proclaims the Vatican City to be the independent, sovereign territory of the Pope.

The final act in the history of the negotiations which have brought about the Lateran Peace was performed at the Vatican on June 7 by the formal exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty and Concordat signed on February 11 by Cardinal Gasparri and Signor Mussolini. Once more the same distinguished representatives of the Holy See and the Italian Government met, this time to accomplish their last and most solemn duty in the mission that had been entrusted to them many months before.

The *Duce* arrived at the Vatican shortly before eleven o'clock, accompanied by Professor Pacelli, who had played a leading rôle in the negotiations from their inception, and by the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Justice of the Italian Government. The *Duce* was received with all the ceremonial accorded at the Vatican to Prime Ministers of foreign states. The salute he received from the Swiss Guards stationed at the entrance gateway was memorable, for no other official of the Italian Government has been thus honoured since 1870.

Cardinal Gasparri and Mgr. Borgongini Duca, Papal Secretary for Ecclesiastical Affairs, awaited the *Duce* and conducted him to the Sala delle Congregazioni, which was the scene of this historical exchange of ratifications. The texts of the Treaties which had been signed by Pius XI were bound in crimson, bearing the Papal coat of arms. The Treaties which bore the signature of the King of

Felici

CARDINAL GASPARRI AND CAV. BENITO MUSSOLINI

With their suites after the exchange of Ratifications in the Vatican

Italy were encased in white parchment stamped with the coat of arms of the Italian State. Cardinal Gasparri and the *Duce* seated themselves at the table bearing the Treaties, and after a ceremony lasting barely twenty minutes, sufficient to permit the reading of the credentials, the Cardinal Secretary of State and the Head of the Government affixed their signatures to the minutes of this, their final meeting on the conclusion of their labours. A cheque for 750,000,000 *lire* (£8,000,000)—the agreed cash sum to be paid to the Holy See by the Italian Government—had been handed to Cardinal Gasparri in the meantime. Under the Treaty the Italian Government bound itself to pay to the Holy See an additional sum of 1,000,000,000 *lire* in five per cent. consolidated bonds. These sums, though large, represent but a trivial part of the value of the Papal property unlawfully seized by the Italian Government in 1870.

The Lateran Peace is fully accomplished, and the vexations of sixty years have passed into ancient history.

Immediately after the ratifications had been exchanged, the Pope inaugurated the new post and telegraph service which has been established in the Vatican City by sending the following telegram to King Victor Emmanuel:

"To His Majesty King Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy.

The first telegram which We send from this City of the Vatican is to inform Your Majesty that the exchange of ratifications of the Lateran conventions is, thanks be to God, since a few moments ago an accomplished fact—*quod*

prosperum felix fortunatumque sit—and also to impart with all Our heart the major and paternal Apostolic Benediction to Your Majesty, your august Consort, to the Royal Family, to Italy and the World. Pius P.P. XI."

The King replied the same day to the Pope's telegram in these terms :

" I am moved by the courteous telegram sent to me by Your Holiness at the moment of the exchange of ratifications of the Treaty of the Lateran. I share the wishes expressed by Your Holiness, and raise to God the wish that to-day's events may begin a happy era in the relations between the Church and the State. I thank Your Holiness, as do also Her Majesty the Queen and the Royal Family, for the Apostolic Benediction imparted to us."

In addition to the personal relations established between the Pope and the King of Italy by the above telegrams, another immediate result of the exchange of ratifications has been the creation of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the Italian Government, the Pope having on the same day named Mgr. Borgongini Duca to be Papal Nuncio to the Quirinal. As is the custom in Catholic countries, Mgr. Borgongini Duca thus becomes Dean of the diplomatic corps accredited to the Quirinal.

The first Italian Ambassador to the Holy See, Senator Count de Vecchi di Val Cismon, presented his letters of credence to the Pope on June 25. He made the customary speech, to which His Holiness replied, and subsequently paid the prescribed visit to Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State. He also paid an official visit to St. Peter's.

Chapter IV

JUSTIFICATION OF THE TREATY AND CONCORDAT

PIUS XI made his first public reference to the signing of the Treaty and Concordat on the 11th of February, the day the signatures were affixed at the Lateran. In his annual charge to the Lenten preachers, who were called to him in the Vatican, His Holiness fully justified the Treaty that, in his words, "assures to the Holy See a true, proper, and real territorial sovereignty," and at the same time he disposed of certain criticisms that had already been made or which might be expressed in the future. That part of his address which dwelt upon the agreement the Pope clothed in these words :

"On this very day, at this very hour, and perhaps at this precise moment, over in the Palace of the Lateran, a Treaty and Concordat is being signed by His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State, our Plenipotentiary, and Cavaliere Benito Mussolini as Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of Italy. A Treaty that recognises and, so far as human powers go, assures to the Holy See a true, proper and real territorial Sovereignty (for, at least up till now, no other form of Sovereignty is recognised in the world as real and proper unless it is also territorial) and which, therefore, is necessarily due to him who, holding the divine commission and being the representative of God, cannot be subject to any earthly Sovereign. Also a Concordat which from the first We have willed to be indissolubly connected with the Treaty, and which is framed to regulate duly the religious state of Italy, so long mishandled, upset and outraged by a series of governments, either themselves sectarian, or leagued in obedience to the enemies of the Church.

"At this moment you will not expect from Us detailed particulars of this Agreement, which is to-day being signed. Not only does time not permit, but delicate diplomatic reasons forbid Us to call the Agreement complete and perfect, until, the Plenipotentiaries themselves having signed, there shall follow, after the accustomed formalities, the signatures of the Sovereigns. Rather We wish to forearm you against certain doubts and criticisms which have already appeared (and which doubtless will grow still more numerous, when the news of to-day's event is more widely known), so that you in your turn may be able to forearm others. These are not questions to be dealt with in your pulpit, for you must not upset the plans of your discourses, but many will come to you for guidance, either through Conferences or through personal conversations, anxious to learn the truth from enlightened and impartial authority.

"We have said, 'Doubts and Criticisms,' and We hasten to add that, in so far as these affect Us personally, they leave Us, and will always leave Us, unmoved and at peace, although these doubts and criticisms regard, chiefly, if not entirely, Ourselves personally, and although Ours, chiefly if not wholly and entirely, is the grave and truly formidable responsibility as to what the consequences are and may be. Nor could it be otherwise, because if at a critical moment in the steering of a ship, the captain more than ever needs the faithful and generous co-operation of his crew (and this has always been given to Us with an incredible generosity and fidelity), yet that is the very moment when he could least of all yield his post, and with it the dangers and responsibility of the supreme command, to another.

"We can truly say that not a line, not a sentence, of these Agreements has not been, for at least thirty months, the subject of Our study and meditation, and, most of all, of Our prayers, and of the prayers for which We asked from many souls who are very dear to God.

" As to Ourselves, We have known quite well from the start that We shall not manage to please everybody (for that even the good God Himself does not ordinarily succeed in doing), and, therefore, We have made Our Own the word of the Prophet, which is also the word of Our Lord Himself : *Ego autem in flagella paratus sum.* For the matter of that, such has been the settled habit of Our life. But apart from what concerns Us individually We are bound to explain Our action, because in virtue of Our universal Fatherhood and the universal authority confided to Us by Divine Providence, We are debtors to all here.

" Let us then come to the ' Doubts.' When through Our Cardinal Secretary of State, We convened the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Holy See, in order to communicate through its members to the Powers the point at which negotiations had arrived and their approaching conclusion, the question at once occurred—Did the Holy See intend to ask permission, or consent, or would the Powers be asked for guarantees in favour of the new situation ? Well, here is the simple explanation : It was Our duty first to communicate the progress of the negotiations, before they were actually concluded, to those personages, who not only manifest to Us their friendly good offices, but also represent the friendship and good dispositions of the numerous Powers accredited to the Holy See. But obviously there could be no question of asking permission, or consent or guarantees. All the world over, wherever news of the present affair has penetrated, everyone has constantly affirmed that in the end the only arbiter of the affairs of the Holy See and of the Church must be the Sovereign Pontiff, and that the Sovereign Pontiff has no need of assent, or consent or guarantee—an impression which, for Our part, We must emphatically endorse, however much We value and appreciate the favour and friendship of all states and governments.

" And after all, where should We find guarantees appropriately so called, if not in the consciousness of Our

own just cause, if not in the conscience and sense of justice of the Italian people, if not, still more, in God's Providence —in that indefectible assistance, divinely promised to the Church, which is seen working in a special manner through the Representative and Vicar of God on earth ?

" Again, what guarantees could one, on the other hand, hope for, even for a Temporal Power on an equally large scale as that which formerly figured on the political map of Europe ?—in regard to which we have seen what the Powers did, or rather did not do ; what they wished to do, or rather what they could not do, to prevent its fall. No doubt, they could not have acted otherwise ; but if this is (as it is) always the condition and history of human affairs, how can We look for defences absolutely sure against the possible dangers of the future—dangers which can only be hypothetical and which are certainly never more unlikely than to-day ?

" Another doubt. What may to-morrow bring ? This question disturbs Us even less, because Our only possible answer is : ' We do not know.' The future is in God's hands. Whatever it may bring can only be by the ordering or the permission of God ; meanwhile We can announce and proclaim that whatever sign Almighty God may give Us, whether by what He does or what He permits, We shall ever follow faithfully along whatever path He may lead Us.

" Criticisms will be even more numerous ; but they can easily be divided into two main classes : one set will say We have asked too much, the other, too little, and that will be the more evident the more We distinguish the grounds on which they think Our asking too much or too little is based. Some will think the territory and temporality too small. We may say, and truthfully, without entering into any premature details or particulars, that it is small, indeed very small ; the very least that We could, after much thought, reflection and prayer, have asked in this respect —and this, deliberately, for many reasons which seem to Us good and sound.

" Before everything else, We have always wished to be a father dealing with his children, for Our desire is not to make things difficult and complicated, but as easy and simple as possible. Also, We would calm and banish all causes of alarm. We would make wholly unjust and utterly unreasonable all reproaches raised, or to be raised, on the grounds of—We were going to say—superstitious regard for the territorial integrity of the country. It seems to Us that We have followed a course that will benefit all, both now and in the future, by producing greater tranquillity —the first and most indispensable condition for stable peace and general prosperity. Moreover, We wish to show most emphatically that the Vicar of Jesus Christ is not influenced by worldly greed, but only by the recognition of that which it is impossible not to ask for ; because a territorial sovereignty of this sort is universally recognised as an indispensable condition for all real sovereignty of jurisdiction. Accordingly, a minimum of territory, just enough for the exercise of sovereignty, as much territory as is necessary for its actual subsistence, as otherwise it will have no support. We would look at things, in a word, as they were exemplified in the person of the Blessed St. Francis, who had just enough body to retain his soul in union with it. Similarly with regard to other saints—the body reduced to what was barely necessary for the service of the soul, so as to maintain human life and activity for good.

" It will be clear, We hope, to all that the Sovereign Pontiff has no more material territory than is indispensable for him, if he is to exercise the spiritual power entrusted to him for the good of mankind.

" We do not hesitate to say that We are pleased that it is so ; We are pleased that the material domain is reduced to such a minimum that one can speak of it, and one should consider it, as spiritualised by the immense, sublime, divine spirituality which it is destined to support and to serve.

" Though it is quite true that the territory We have reserved and which is recognised as Ours is materially very

small, nevertheless, We have the right to say that it is large, larger than anything in the world, from whatever point of view it is looked at. When a territory can boast of Bernini's Colonnade, of Michelangelo's Cupola, of the treasures of art and science, contained in the archives and the libraries, in the museums and galleries of the Vatican; when a territory governs and guards the Tomb of the Prince of the Apostles, surely it has a right to claim that in all the world no other territory is greater or more precious. And so We have reason enough to answer, triumphantly and calmly, those critics who object that We have asked too little. Moreover, they have probably not reflected that difficulties and dangers must follow (in the days We are speaking of) from adding the civil administration of even a small population to the government of the universal Church. The smallness of Our territory obviates dangers and inconveniences of this kind; for the last sixty years the Vatican has in fact governed without any special complications.

"On the other hand, it will be, and already has been, said that in another direction We have asked too much, namely in the financial sphere—perhaps it would be truer to say the economic sphere, but it is not a question of great national finance, but rather of modest domestic economics. To this We say, in the first place, if it had been possible to capitalise the whole amount of which the Church in Italy was robbed, including the patrimony of St. Peter, what an enormous and crushing amount, what an overwhelming sum, it would have been! Could the Holy Father allow the Catholic world to understand that he had forgotten these facts? Is it not his clear duty to provide, now and for the future, for all those needs for which the whole world turns to him, and which even though spiritual, cannot be relieved without the help of material means, since they are the needs of men and human beings?

"Another thought has escaped these critics: Surely the Holy See has the right to provide for its own economic

independence, without which neither its dignity nor its effective liberty would be assured. We have unlimited confidence in the charity of the faithful, in that marvellous work of Divine Providence, which is expressed practically in 'Peter's Pence'—truly the hand of God, which We have seen working miracles for seven years. However, Providence never dispenses us from the virtue of prudence, nor from using those human means which are in our power.

"It is easy to forget that what is given to the Holy See in reparation cannot suffice to provide even a small part of the vast needs of the whole world which the Church embraces; needs for ever increasing, as the missionary work of the Church develops on an enormous scale and reaches the most distant countries. Besides, in civilised countries, in Europe, in Italy itself, especially since the spoliation, those needs are incredibly numerous and no less incredibly grave. The needs of individuals, the works of charity, of ecclesiastical institutions even the most vital, are simply lamentable. All these, We know well, appeal for help to the Holy See, to the Father of all the faithful.

"But let Us return to the things of to-day, and draw a conclusion from them as true as it is cheering. Here it is: Truly the ways of God are sublime, immeasurable, unexpected. Whatever happens to Us and in whatever manner, We shall endeavour to make it succeed. But We are in the hands of God: great things are not amenable to Our intelligence or direction. Always and in every event the Lord knows how to draw profit from all things and from everyone, and to make everything combine to attain the blessed ends of His Holy Will. So it only remains for Us to say: *Fiat Voluntas Tua.*"

The closing words of this historic declaration, "Thy will be done," are at the same time an expression of thankfulness for what has been accomplished in the Treaty and Concordat, and of con-

fidence in the future. The wisdom of the Pope in accepting only the Vatican City,[1] when it is well known to those on the inside in Rome that he could have had a much larger territory had he so desired, is demonstrated by his own words explaining his reasons.

A section of public opinion in France has occupied itself uselessly in an endeavour to show that the Holy See has obtained advantages in Italy at the cost of its independence, renouncing the international guarantees which were regarded, it is falsely alleged, as indispensable by some of the predecessors of Pius XI. There is no truth in this clumsy assertion; if it were true, then, certainly, the recognition of its temporal sovereignty which has been secured by the Church in Italy would never compensate for the loss of its liberty. But this liberty has not been lost, compromised, or diminished by the accords signed at the Lateran.

No Pontiff from Pius IX to Pius XI has said that international guarantees were essential for the security of the Holy See and the tranquillity of the Catholic world. The Pope has shown that the very small territory now proclaiming his temporal sovereignty is sufficient to render the liberty of his supreme ministry both visible and effective. He has recognised and eloquently explained the reasons why it would not have been opportune or necessary to demand more. The whole Catholic world, which has the most interest in this question, has appreciated and applauded without reserve the

[1] The Vatican City has an area of less than one square mile. The territory of the Papal States in 1860 extended to 15,775 square miles and had a population of over 3,000,000.

decision taken by the Holy Father after patient examination and long meditation.

On February 13 the Pope received a delegation composed of professors and students of the University of Milan, the city from whence he was called to the Papal Throne, and where he spent so many years of his active life, first as a student, then as Prefect of the famous Ambrosian Library, and, afterwards, as Cardinal Archbishop. On this occasion the Pope made some further interesting observations on the Peace of the Lateran, as follows:

"This is the moment which Divine Providence has chosen to summon Us to accomplish acts and inaugurate events that certainly—as far as human, and not only human but supernatural, foresight can perceive—are destined, We firmly hope and trust, as We have long been convinced, to produce precious fruits for the glory of God and Christ the King, for the honour of Holy Mother Church, for the good of Italy and of so many dear souls—the dearer to Us as they are the nearer—for the good of the whole world. We cannot but make the obvious reflection that these events are calculated to evoke the sympathy of the entire world, of all upright souls, of all hearts that cherish lofty feelings and aspirations because of the great contribution these same events bring to the work of pacification, to that peace that the Divine Jesus has called *His* Peace—'the Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ.'

"The Treaty concluded between the Holy See and Italy does not need much justification, whether in the eyes of those at home or those abroad, for indeed it is abundantly justified by one result; which stands out as the most important of all. That justification is the fact of the Concordat; it is in the Concordat that the Treaty finds not only its explanation, not only its justification, but its

recommendation as well. It was precisely because the Concordat was to have this character that We from the outset were determined to make it the *sine qua non* of the Treaty, and in the realisation of this desire, We must at once declare, We were generously and abundantly assisted by the other Party [Mussolini].

" If the Treaty had had no other object than to regulate, within limits essentially and absolutely sufficient, the fixed and necessary status of the Holy See and of the Roman Pontiff—that is, of him, who by whatever name he is called or in whatever era he may live, cannot, because of the Divine responsibility with which he is clothed, be subject to any outside authority—that object would have been attained, as soon as the most indispensable attribute of sovereignty, namely (as things historically are at present) a certain range of territory, had been secured.

" But what would such a Treaty have been worth in a land brought to the condition to which Italy had been brought by so many years of exactions, plunderings, revolutions of every kind ; the work of governments consciously or unconsciously hostile ? Clearly at this point the problem began to be complicated, as was already apparent when some attempts had previously been made to reform ecclesiastical legislation—attempts which could only result in a simple unilateral measure, relating to matters concerning which no legislation could have force unless there had been previous agreement and understanding with ecclesiastical authority. Accordingly, in order to have a Concordat the ecclesiastical situation had to be set right, and, at the same time, in order to set that same situation right, a previous Concordat was necessary.

" What then was to be done ? The state of affairs was not simple. Nevertheless We have to thank the Lord for having shown us the solution and for having brought others to see it also. The solution was to push forward the two matters—ecclesiastical and civil—together and at the same rate. And thus while the Treaty was being pondered, a

Concordat properly so called was studied at the same time ; and we were able to revise, to re-shape and, up to the limits of the possible, to re-arrange and to regulate all that huge medley of laws, opposed, one and all, directly or indirectly, to the rights and prerogatives of the Church and of persons and things ecclesiastical. One had to deal with so many things, an agglomeration really so vast, so complicated, so difficult that it was apt occasionally to make one's head swim, and sometimes We were tempted to think that for the solution of this question a Pope who had been an Alpinist was requisite, a Pope used to facing the steepest heights ; just as at other times the need, perhaps, was for a Pope who had been a Librarian, a Pope accustomed to plunge to the depths of historical documentary research.[1]

" We must say that We were most generously helped by the other side. It may be that there was also needed a man such as Providence has caused Us to meet,[2] a man unaffected by the prejudices of the ' Liberal ' school, to which all these laws and ordinances or rather disordinances are so many fetishes (for like fetishes they are the more sacred and unassailable, the more hideous and deformed they are), and thus, with the Grace of God, with much patience and much labour, thanks to constant and generous assistance, We have succeeded *per medium profundum* in drawing up a Concordat which, if not the very best possible, is certainly to be reckoned among the best. Therefore, it is with the deepest satisfaction that We are persuaded that We have given God back to Italy and Italy to God.

" You must now realise to the full how great, how grave, how solemn, how fraught with formidable responsibilities is the problem of the situation, historically and internationally, of the Papal Sovereignty—the concern of the Treaty. But the Concordat contains something equally great and not

[1] Pius XI was an ardent Alpinist, and Librarian of both the Ambrosian Library at Milan and the Vatican Library.

[2] Mussolini.

less worthy of your support. When the jurisdiction of the Church as a moral entity is recognised with all its rights, when the Sacrament of Marriage takes its proper place in legislation and civil life, when the juridical personality of religious communities is acknowledged and when to religious education its proper mission and dignity are assigned, then we can understand how we ought to thank Our Lord with all our hearts."

Signor Mussolini has also given public expression to his satisfaction that cordial relations have been established between his government and the Holy See. This satisfaction he has expressed in his customary vigorous language, first publicly at a national assembly of all the forces of the Fascist régime in Rome on March 10, and later in his communication to the Italian Chamber of Deputies transmitting the Treaty and Concordat, which have since been ratified (May 13, 1929). In this luminous and detailed communication the *Duce* reveals his profound conviction that the Agreement is not only good and just in itself, but that it also opens up a new and fruitful era in the history of the Church and of Italy. It is an intensely interesting document, and an historical declaration of the utmost importance.

On the first occasion referred to above, Mussolini declared to the Fascist leaders, in broaching the question of the reconciliation between Italy and the Holy See, that the Italian people possessed a Faith, that they were Catholic. Italy had had the unique privilege for two thousand years of possessing on its soil the centre of religion. It was not by a mere coincidence or owing to the caprice of men that that religion was implanted at Rome, and

afterwards spread, as it continued to spread, from Rome. The Empire of Rome was the historic base, first of Christianity and then of Catholicism. He continued :

" After long and sorrowful centuries during which Italian lack of unity had suffered from the yoke of the stranger Rome became the capital of a revivified Italy, because no other city could be or can now be the capital of Italy. The first phase of the *risorgimento* caused the grave differences which have troubled the consciences of the Italians since 1870. These differences which have been a veritable thorn in the side of the nation have been liquidated by the Agreement of February 11, an accord which is just, precise and which creates between Italy and the Holy See a situation, not of confusion or of hypocrisy, but of just limits and of loyalty.

" An agreement is always better than a dispute, good neighbours are always preferable to warfare. The peace between the Quirinal and the Vatican is an event of supreme import, not only for Italy but for the whole world. For Italians it suffices to recall that on February 11 the Kingdom of Italy under the Monarchy of the House of Savoy was finally solemnly recognised, with Rome as the capital of the Italian State. On our side we have loyally recognised the sovereignty of the Holy See, not only because it existed in fact, not only on account of the exiguity which makes the territory demanded almost insignificant, exiguity which takes nothing from the grandeur of its character, but because of our conviction that the Supreme Chief of a universal religion cannot be the subject of any State, for fear of seeing Catholicism decline or lose its universality. We have recognised the predominant place of the Catholic Church in the religious life of the Catholic people ; this is perfectly natural among a Catholic people such as ours, and under a régime such as the Fascist.

" This does not signify—it is superfluous to affirm—

that other cults, until now tolerated, will be molested, suppressed or even humiliated. The Catholic State does not imply that it will be made an obligation, by whatever pressure, to follow a fixed Faith, although it be that of the majority. By determining the boundaries of the jurisdiction, the duties and the responsibilities of the State to the State, and the State to the Church, the pathway seems freer and the horizon more serene. This is the final point after fifteen centuries of history.

" Here, also, the line of conduct followed since 1923 is given effect in law. The Fascist State has not been obliged to preserve all the legislation which was the product of an historical period, and due to the bitter tension between the Church and the State ; laws which in the course of time and with the end of Liberalism have become simple fictions. Events such as those of February 11 are of such far-reaching effect that to be able to judge them one must look at them from the perspective of history. In cases such as these the intuitive sense of the multitude is nearer the truth than is reasoned intelligence. The conscience of the people has long felt that a solution of the Roman Question would be a just cause for pride and a proof of the strength and stability of the régime."

In the communication accompanying the Treaty and Concordat submitted to the Italian Parliament, Mussolini stated that with the non-acceptance of the Law of Guarantees a painful situation arose. The Catholic Church did not recognise the Kingdom of Italy or Rome as its capital. There were moments of tension, moments of silence, but the juridical situation was never modified, the Holy See always proclaimed that the Law of Guarantees had not, could not, solve the problem of the veritable and effective sovereignty of the Supreme Pontiff. He continued :

THE LATERAN PALACE

Where peace was signed between the Holy See and Italy

Feli

THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES AND THEIR STAFFS

After signing the Lateran Treaty

" In the Law of May 13, 1871, the following true and undeniable elements of sovereign power were introduced, i.e. : the explicit recognition of sovereign honours to the Sovereign Pontiff, the authority to have armed forces—even of foreigners—for his defence, a civil-list and the right, active and passive, of Legations, in which right one of the highest attributes of sovereign power is internationally recognised.

" The Law of Guarantees was three parts *de jure* and for the rest *de facto*, since the Italian Government has never once asserted its sovereignty over the Vatican territory in which the Pope has dwelt from 1870. The bronze doors [of the Vatican Palace] have never admitted the entrance of a functionary of the Italian State—they were not the entrance to a palace, but the boundaries of a State.

" That the government of 1870 did not intend to drive the Pope from Rome and deprive him of his sovereignty is shown by the declaration of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of that time, Visconti-Venosta, who informed the Powers that the Leonine City would be left under the absolute sovereignty of the Holy See. If the Holy See had treated then upon the bases of that note, the territory of the Vatican City would have been far greater and more populous than it actually is—reduced by the desire of the Holy See itself to the smallest possible limits from a territorial point of view.

" The fundamental idea which guided the Treaty on the Italian side did not admit of the cession of any Italian territory beyond that possessed by the Holy See, and it was a great help and a happy issue of the negotiations that the Holy See entered with that order of ideas, fully convinced that the independence and the splendour of the Papacy was not necessarily bound to a greater or less extension of territory beyond that preserved from 1870. Freed from polemical bitterness, and in the new atmosphere created by seven years of Fascism, the Roman Question presented itself as resolvable in 1929 by reciprocal recognition *de jure* of a

situation always *de facto*. An examination of the Articles of the Agreement demonstrates that the recognition of the independence of the Holy See is loyal, explicit and perfect.

"It is important also that there was never any question of the intervention of foreign Powers, and it is superfluous to point out the importance of the Article in which the Vatican City is declared neutral and inviolable, and that it remains outside all temporal competition with other States. The beneficent consequences, political, religious and moral, of the Agreement are evident and are in no need of accentuation; that they are clear is evident from the verdict of Italy and the world.

"The fact that a Fascist régime was needed to solve the question which had hitherto been considered insoluble, and which had been attempted in vain by all governments since 1860, is a proof of the probity and solidity of the Fascist régime.

"While the political treaty regulates the relations between Italy and the Holy See, the central organ of the Catholic Church, the Concordat regulates the relations between the Italian State and the Italian Church, which forms a part of the Universal Church. The first of these Acts was necessary to resolve the problems which arose during the formation of Italian unity, from a complexity of circumstances derived perhaps more from the fatality of the historical events than the ill-will of men, and which have troubled the consciences of Italians for seventy years. The dissension which concerned the settlement of the territory of the Holy See and the guarantees of independence necessary for the Supreme Pontiff for the exercise of his spiritual mission in the world demanded an agreement of a particular character and one of a nature essentially political. But the agreement alone would not resolve the situation between the Church and State. The dissension which had lasted three-quarters of a century had grave repercussions on the situation of the Catholic Church in Italy. Such consequences were, indeed, not in the minds of the men of the

Risorgimento, who thinking to realise the most of Italy with Rome as its capital, wished for an accord with the Roman Pontiff without damage to his independence and without offending the religious sense of the overwhelming majority of Italians. That was, unhappily, impossible, the dissensions became naturally more acute after 1870, and the relations between the Catholic Church in Italy and the Italian State became seriously disturbed. Between the Italian State and the Italian clergy there existed a mutual distrust if not open hostility, and this was reflected in all the legislation of the State in ecclesiastical affairs. This was not limited to taking away institutions which had arisen in other times and were no longer compatible with the needs of modern civilisation, but really going far beyond that and laying hands on those things which, apart from the political considerations of the moment, should not have been in the side-current of thought which dominated the *Risorgimento*. This made the hostility due to the formation and constitution of the new State more grave, in so far as it was led to consider religion as a problem of the individual conscience and hence the Church and its organisation as a private affair to be regulated by the ordinary law.

" The Liberal conception, reinforced at a certain moment by political opportunism, naturally led to the denial of any juridical recognition of the Catholic Church in Italy. It was thought that upon the establishment of Italian unity it would be possible to resolve the problem of its completion by the annexation of Rome through a compromise by which the Holy See should be given the complete liberty of the Italian Church in exchange for the renunciation of its temporal power. So arose in the mind of Cavour the formula of ' A free Church in a free State.'

" It would be easy at this late day and after so many experiences to see the defects of that conception and of that formula, easier still to mark the fallacy of those illusions by which it was thought that the Holy See—a supernatural institution and the supreme organ of universal Catholicism—

could renounce the guarantees which it derived from the possession of territorial sovereignty and be reduced to the condition of a private organisation governed by the laws of the Italian State in exchange for the renunciation by the State of interference in the Italian church. Moreover, here too, realities sweep away doctrinal formulæ. The accord with the Holy See on the bases proposed by Liberalism was not possible ; the same may be said of the logical and full application of ' the Free Church in a free State ' principle, which, in truth, was a mere abstraction made for reasons contingent on political opportunism. In practice it showed itself to be in conflict with the doctrine of the Church, and for that reason unacceptable. It was also repugnant to the religious conscience of the Italian people and dangerous to the sovereignty and authority of the State.

" If one thinks of the development of legislation during the period subsequent to 1870, of the rigorous treatment meted out to the ministers of the Catholic cult by the Penal Code of 1890, of the restrictive measures embodied in the Law of July 17, 1890, concerning institutions of public charity it must be confessed that the principle of separation was only applied when it was unfavourable to the Church, and that the principle of interference came to be recognised. This state of things, perhaps justified by the reciprocal hostility persisting between Church and State, had to be radically changed the day, looked forward to for so many years, when the disagreement was happily ended.

" Some time before the historical occurrence of February 11, 1929, the bitterness of the relations between Church and State in Italy had been palliated, and, thanks especially to Fascism, had reaffirmed their essentially Catholic character. The first Article of the Statute which had been for so long a dead letter came again into vigour and practical application. The Crucifix was returned to the halls of the schools and Courts of Justice from whence it had been banished so long, civil festivals were made to coincide again with those of the Church, religious comfort was

re-established in the army and in juvenile organisations, the existing ecclesiastical legislation has been applied in a spirit devoid of the suspicion of sectarianism and imprinted with the most loyal deference towards an institution of the moral, social and historical importance of the Catholic Church.

" There must be no hostility to, no defiance of, the Church nor of religion. On the contrary, there must be explicit recognition because Catholicism is a very ancient tradition and glory of Italy. The State—which is the Italian nation in its juridical organisation—is the representative of its spirit and the heir of its traditions and cannot be other than Catholic.

" In a Catholic State the Catholic Church must enjoy a juridical status of particular favour, if not of privilege in the old sense of the word, not merely negatively respected as could be the case in a Liberal and agnostic State.

" Article I of the Concordat affirms this principle, about this there can be no doubts ; it means that with the Concordat the principle of separation of Church and State which was the aim of the old Liberal doctrine, and which is professed to-day by democratic anti-clericalism, has been abandoned. Thus the Catholic Church is no longer considered as a private association governed by common law, that religion is a problem of individual conscience in which the State does not interest itself, and that the State is an agnostic organisation where religious questions are concerned.

" But the abandonment of the principle of separation, which, moreover, had never been completely attained, does not mean the introduction of a system by which the two powers, the civil and the religious, become confused and confounded with each other. The Concordat establishes a régime of concord and co-operation, not of confusion between the Church and the State. Concord and co-operation imply the distinction between the two powers, the one dominant in the field of religious conscience, the

other in the civil and political field. But as there are continual relations between the two fields, the necessity for accord and collaboration becomes manifest.

"The Concordat guides this co-ordination between the two powers in a spirit of the broadest reciprocal respect, and, consequently, completely safeguards the sovereignty of the State. It need not be feared that with the Concordat the Italian State—which it must not be forgotten is Fascist—has abandoned one particle of its sovereignty. Nor must it be feared either that the Concordat resuscitates the Middle Ages in Italy with all their old situations which modern times have eliminated. No one has wished to revive decayed things and institutions of other days that are incompatible with the spirit of modern civilisation; this the Catholic Church has perfectly well understood in its admirable thousand-year-old character of adaptation.

"The Concordat assures the Catholic Church of the free exercise of its spiritual power and confers upon it besides a special prestige by the fact that the Catholic religion becomes the official religion of the State, but full liberty is permitted to other cults in the State, as well as the equality of citizens in the law, no matter what religion they profess.

"The Concordat provides in consideration of the sacred character of the Eternal City, episcopal seat of the Sovereign Pontiff, centre of the Catholic world and goal of pilgrims, that the Italian Government will be at pains to prevent everything that could be opposed to this character (Art. I). But this does not mean that Rome will be closed to the current of new ideas and to the conquests of modern thought; Rome which has ever been, and always will be, the advance-guard of civilisation. It will be desired only, should it be necessary, to protect the sacred character which rises from its catacombs to its four hundred churches."

Signor Mussolini terminates his justification thus:

"The Treaty of the Lateran had definitely established peace between the two Powers, the civil and the ecclesiastic;

the Concordat assures and regulates the co-operation. The one and the other open up a new era in the history of the Church and of Italy, an era which will be rich in benefits for the moral elevation of the Italian people, a preliminary foundation and condition for its greatness."

L'Osservatore Romano, which is the mouth-piece of the Vatican in Rome, expressed the satisfaction of the Holy See with Mussolini's communication to the Italian Parliament in an article in which it said :

" The first words of the Head of the Italian Government on the Lateran Agreements which he signed as Plenipotentiary of the King of Italy are couched in a sobriety worthy of an event which emphasis or polemics could only lessen. It would be puerile to talk of victors or vanquished ; better speak of the absolute equity of the accord. The sobriety underlines and explains the reasons, the spirit and the historical consequences of the pacts which have been signed, of the secular life and tradition of Catholicism in Italy, of the relations between the Church and the State in the mind and in the work of the régime.

" By the will of Providence Rome became the centre of the faith and the Christian religion that was propagated from Bethlehem and Jerusalem to the Orient and the Occident and which the Prince of the Apostles brought from the native soil of the Redeemer, and there Providence had prepared the greatest political power in the world ; the Roman Empire was first pre-Christianity and then Catholicism. Signor Mussolini shares the thought of the Divine Poet who said of Rome and the Empire : '*Lo quale e il quale—fur stabiliti per lo loco santo—u' siede il successor del maggior Piero.*'

" For the first time in a thousand years the Holy See is, in Italy, vis-à-vis the political unity of a Catholic State. The Concordat assures and develops the religious guarantees

that replace and surpass the troops of John de Medici, the fleet of Colonna and the fortresses of Sangallo.

" The equity of the solution is to be found in its relations to modern times, to new conditions and to new security. Equity for the Church, equity for the State.

" Fascist Italy has not fallen back on the fiction that the Roman Question has passed away. The Liberal Right and Left, no matter what was said, never thought that it was not an open question or that it was not necessary to solve it, from Cavour to Crispi. Crispi perceived that the man who would face it and regulate it would pass into history, and it was his ambition to have that renown.

" Neither victors nor vanquished, therefore, on one side or the other, but words and pacts of kindly justice. Such is the true and authentic characteristic of the Agreement in which the State admits those rights of the Church which do not come from man or from institutions, but from God and His Providence, and in its turn obtains the acknowledgment of the unity of the nation in the Kingdom of Italy."

The essential accomplishment of a treaty should be that each side is satisfied with the results obtained. That the Lateran Treaty fulfils this condition has been shown by the quotations from the mouths of the Pope and Mussolini.

Chapter V

FASCISM AND THE CHURCH

A LEADING Roman paper declared about two and a half years ago:[1] "With the coming of the new order of things, Parliament in its present form has no reason for existence."

Fascism has taken care that its existence in the old form should come to an inglorious end. The recent elections (March 1929) were convincing enough that Fascist Parliamentary régime is firmly established in place of that which *Il Popolo di Roma* disposed of so contemptuously. The manner of these elections was astonishing in a country having a constitutional form of government. The Fascist organisation prepared the list of candidates—there were no other lists, no rival candidates—to be submitted to the country. The electors had this choice: either to vote for or against the government candidates. There was no opposing Party in the field; in Italy there is no Opposition, in Italy politics have come to an end. In the late elections there was no disorder, no friction, no vituperation, and, as far as an interested observer could see, no dissatisfaction with this unique method of selecting the members of a constitutional assembly; on the other hand, the enthusiasm of the thousands of "Black Shirts" was very plainly manifest.

There were 9,650,740 electors on the lists; of these 8,642,774 cast their votes, 8,506,576 for the *Duce's* candidates and 136,198 against them, the latter merely voting "no," while the majority voted "yes." It was an extraordinary election,

[1] *Il Popolo di Roma*, issue of December 31, 1926.

because it demonstrated the keenness of the Italian to exercise his right of voting—in sharp contrast to the apathy of voters in so many other countries, and because of the quite overwhelming majority in favour of Fascism. Where else do 89 per cent. of all the voters on the register go to the polls? Where else does a government receive the endorsement of 98 per cent. of the total number of votes cast? The verdict of March showed quite conclusively that the country without distinction of social classes is behind Mussolini. The King and the Italian Crown Prince both fulfilled their obligation as citizens. As the ballot is secret, it cannot be stated whether they voted "*sì*" or "*no*," but there can be little doubt as to which word went on their ballot papers. The present Parliament is elected to sit for five years. They will be five years of the greatest interest, and the supreme test of the Fascist doctrine.

The Italian Senate is being strengthened by the appointment of representative men in the front ranks of letters, science, art, the army and industry. They are named for life by the King on the recommendation of the government; therefore this Chamber also has a unique character.

The Italian State is no longer a State, it is an Association with a Monarchial Constitution. The visible head of this association is the King: he is its symbol, there is a Cabinet and a Prime Minister —Mussolini—whose title is "Head of the Government"; he is at the same time the leader of the Fascist organisation, the *Duce*. "*Duce*" is the popular title that has been bestowed on him, a title which has the additional significance of having

become a term of affection for the man who rules Italy with a direct personal authority unknown since the days of Napoleon.

This is the nature of the government that rescued Italy from the incompetence and helplessness of the old Liberal régime, from strikes, from disorder, and from the imminent threat of Bolshevik rule in 1922.

Italy came out of the world war financially, politically, and morally defeated in spite of victory. With a debt of 85,000,000 lire, resentment born of the Versailles Conference, and exasperation against their feeble government, the people of Italy were ripe for rebellion; this mentality prepared the ground for the activities of those secret forces of corruption which have tried to win over the masses to revolution in Italy, England, Germany, Hungary, China, India, and where not, since the war. There were repeated riots in Milan, Naples, Leghorn, and in Turin. Blood was shed, street-barricades were erected, and private property violated. In 1919 there were 1,663 industrial strikes in Italy, not counting those of farmers who were infected with the same spirit of discontent. In vain the responsible Press raised its voice in an appeal to the government for action. The outlook for the country was ominous.

At this critical period in the history of Italy a newspaper editor in Milan—a man of almost supernatural qualities of organisation and leadership, although as yet untried, a man of untiring energy and fervent patriotism—commenced to expound his doctrines in his newspaper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*. That man was Benito Mussolini. The idea that had

been born in his brain was to combat communistic excesses by violent counter-action, and to force the government to restore order or to make way for those who were capable of doing it. Mussolini's following grew rapidly, and there were clashes in many parts of the kingdom between his men, "The Black Shirts," and riotous communists. Fascism had its birth.

Events began to move rapidly. On October 4, 1922, Mussolini sent out warning notices to the Fascisti to prepare to act quickly. On October 14 the "army" was mobilised.

It must be admitted that the ranks of these self-constituted restorers of order contained elements of many kinds, perhaps not all imbued with the inspired patriotism of their leader; in any event they were all ready to go to any lengths to free their country from the evils of bad government and threatened red-revolution. They were successful. Rome was reached on October 28, the government of Signor Facta resigned, and the King invited Mussolini to replace the fallen administration.

What has happened in Italy since 1922 belongs already to the realm of history. Reforms have been the order of the day, abuses inherent and traditional in the old governments have disappeared. These reforms are apparent on every side: the tourist in Italy comments on them with approval, but that which meets his eye is only on the surface; the internal reforms of the administration have been gigantic. We remember during the first years of the war, when our duties took us to a Ministry of the government, that we were struck by the number of employees idling in the corridors, gossiping and

smoking; they have disappeared. In England the disastrous effect of the great strike of a few years ago will not soon be forgotten; in Italy there are no strikes—they are not permitted. Turn where one will, the same picture of reforms ably carried out, order, discipline and improved economic conditions, presents itself.

It cannot be claimed that the methods of Fascism have always been tender. It unceremoniously ousted the socialist and communist elements in Parliament and forced the "Popular" Party into retirement. However, it must be admitted that where so much has been accomplished for the good of the country, for the welfare and contentment of the people as has been the case in Italy during seven years of Fascism, one is prone to overlook whatever has been harsh—and it has been trivial in comparison with any other revolution in history—in this "Black Shirt" rule. Well may many countries, bowed down under the weight of post-war burdens, vexed by economic troubles and plagued by labour unrest, turn a jealous eye on the Italy of Mussolini. If it establishes itself for a long period, as we think it will, it may serve as a model for other countries which might be threatened as Italy was seven years ago. It is the policy of the "Mailed-fist," but a benevolent one; there is a motive power behind it different from that which was behind a famous one in the old days before 1914.

Mussolini's speech on March 10, 1929, at the quinquennial Fascist assembly was reassuring to those who might fear the possibility of a too aggressive foreign policy emanating from the

Consulta. When he came to the question of foreign politics he said :

" We would recall once more to all those who seek to discourage the world by a picture of Italian imperialism and aggressive militarism, that Italy keeps her expenditure for armaments within the strict limits necessary for defence and security. We would recall that Italy wishes to live in peace with all peoples, especially with her neighbours ; that Italy has concluded pacts of friendship and treaties of commerce with a number of States, and that often these accords have dissipated fogs, put intrigues to rout and re-established spiritual equilibrium. We would recall that Italy is engaged in her internal political and economic reconstruction, being occupied, indeed, with the effort to create new institutions and a new type of civilisation which should bring harmony between old traditions and modernity, between progress and faith, between the machine and the mind, and which should be the synthesis of the thought and the conquests of two centuries ; Italy does not wish to disturb peace, though ready to defend her interests in every part of the world."

Mussolini is the most intriguing personality of the present time. If we were asked to attempt to fathom what appears to be a very complex character, we should be tempted to venture the opinion that his is, after all, a rather simple one to understand. The difficulty is more one of finding a human standard of comparison by which to measure him. He is an apparition that is so new, so unexpected ; it is this which confuses a just estimate of the man who has created the Fascist State. Where can we look for another example of supreme power consolidated in the hands of one individual who has used it solely for his country's

good ? History has taught us to discover that other uses have been made of such singular power whenever it has been usurped by dictators, and we have looked to find also the megalomania which has tumbled such dictatorships down in ruins.

The tone of Mussolini's speeches is criticised abroad. Is it too boastful, too vainglorious, too much permeated with an exaggerated egoism ? If it is, it expresses the sentiments of Italian youth of to-day. Nothing less would keep pace with the fervour of this new patriotism, this new Italianism. It is what the people whom Mussolini addresses expect, what they want—nothing less would satisfy them ; besides, we believe that he feels what he says, just as we believe that he possesses the courage and the resolution to carry out at all costs the policies which he has inaugurated.

It cannot be said of Mussolini that he harkens to no counsel but his own, or that he follows his star blindly. That he believes in his star no one who has heard him speak can doubt, but he is essentially a thinker, a thinker seeking a reason in everything. He is susceptible of changing his beliefs. His dramatic change from red-socialism to the dictatorship of a one-man government is alone sufficient to demonstrate that he is not a leader who is the slave of a single ideal ; it serves also to mark him as a man who possesses a plastic mind.

He has said, as we have quoted above, that Italy is engaged in her internal political and economic reconstruction. This is a task of sufficient magnitude to satisfy even a Mussolini. Those who know him best are convinced that his sole preoccupation at present is to be a builder within the limits of

the Italian frontiers, and that the programme he has set himself—he is one who looks far ahead—does not concern itself with "Italian imperialism and aggressive militarism." The surest means of imperilling his rule and the continued and orderly development of the Fascist State would be to disturb world peace. It would be a mistake to imagine that the *Duce* fails to realise this. He is absorbed in his work of reconditioning Italy; his policy is constructive, it is as reasoned, as consecutive, as flowing and as harmonious as the development of a Beethoven symphony.

It was a profound sense of realities which led Mussolini to assume the rôle of protector and champion of the Catholic Church. Extracts from his speeches have been given in another chapter. In 1923 he plainly disclosed his increasingly friendly attitude towards the Church—in the Chamber of Deputies, in interviews, and in his relations with the bishops. He recognised the error of his predecessors in vainly trying to govern a Catholic country with anti-Catholic laws. The day he realised that his soundest policy was reconciliation with the Church, that day he established his government on the firmest basis possible in Italy, and himself in the hearts of the Italian people.

The Catholic religion has become the State religion of Italy. Italy has accepted Canon Law, placed marriage under religious control, and will now share with the Holy See the responsibilities for the instruction and the moral guidance of Italian youth.

The Fascist doctrine which heretofore had been somewhat nebulous, except that all and everything

THE MULTITUDE IN THE PIAZZA

Receiving the Pope's blessing on February 12, 1929, the day after the Treaty was signed

must be subservient to the State, has now taken concrete form by means of well-defined laws in harmony with the Concordat that has brought Italy back to Catholic administration.

There *is* a Latin tradition, a tradition that has persisted in Rome from the days of the Apostle who is the corner-stone of the Church—"Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it"—to the days of Pius XI. That tradition is stronger and more eternal than the thought of Imperial Rome. Imperial Rome is but a memory whose mighty ruins lie about the Seven Hills on every side in this Eternal City. The Church of Peter still stands, the Dome of Michelangelo rises serene above the glories of the Cæsars that have crumbled into dust. Mussolini himself has said: "The Papacy is the universal heir of the Roman Empire; it represents the greatest glory of Italian history and tradition." Dante, the immortal genius of mediæval Italy, anticipated Mussolini by more than six hundred years when he wrote:

> "Let Cæsar render to Peter the respect which is due from the elder son to his father, because he is directed by the light of paternal indulgence. Let that light shine with its greatest brilliance upon the world of which Cæsar is the chief only by virtue of the power in him who governs the spiritual kingdom and the temporal kingdom."

What Fascism has accomplished, and it is its greatest accomplishment, is that it has met the conciliatory spirit of the Holy See and united with it in a common determination to reconcile the political and the religious forces of Italy in a just

and harmonious manner. This determination has found its expression and its fulfilment in the Treaty of the Lateran and in the Concordat.

. . . . .

Fascism, thorough in everything, has issued a Catechism of its doctrine, which, as it is a semi-official declaration, must be accepted as embodying the ideals of the most interesting social experiment of modern times.

THE FASCIST CATECHISM

Under the heading "Fascism Salvation of the Country" in this Catechism are found these questions and answers:

When and how came Fascism to be born?

Fascism was born after the world war, when Italy was not enjoying the peace she deserved, when deserters were pardoned and heroes scorned, ill-treated, and killed. When communists were able to domineer arrogantly and cruelly over some sections of Italy, when fields were abandoned, workshops deserted, and strikes were increasing the existing misery, then Benito Mussolini cried "Enough," and the Italians worthy of the name flocked to his side.

Was there not then a government?

There was no real government; there were some men dependent on the caprices of the Chamber of Deputies, men who sought to avoid responsibilities rather than to face them.

Fascism was born, therefore, among the people?

Yes. Before (it appeared) in the few men who attached themselves to the *Duce*, Fascism was

already in the conscience of the nation, which realised the peril and judged the Government powerless to save it. And that is how a few men were able to arouse an entire nation.

Why were the people immediately on the side of the *Duce* ?

Precisely because he was the expression of the Fatherland, which they did not wish to perish ; he was the personification of the traditional sentiment of the people and the tenacious will of the race.

Was there, then, a change of government ?

In October 1922 there was not simply a change of government, but a profound political, moral, and social revolution.

Why did not Fascism follow the legal method, and why did it prefer revolution ?

Because a new ministry would not have solved the problem ; it would only have postponed it. Only a revolution giving Fascism entire power was able to insure the continuance of the experiment to the attainment of its end.

What were the first results of the advent of Fascism ?

A government was substituted for disorder ; insubordination ceased in the workshops ; strikes disappeared ; the production of the countryside was again set in motion, and a more rigid and energetic method of action was introduced into the functions of the State, provinces, and communes ; functionaries were inspired with a greater sense of duty and responsibility.

What is Fascism to-day ?

To-day Fascism is a controlling movement which binds together all the productive forces of the

nation obedient to the same laws and to the same ideal. It is a political movement with millions of adherents having a single, substantial faith. It is a military movement with a real army of Black Shirts. And thus all is fused in a sort of religious devotion—devotion to the Fatherland.

Fascism is, then, not really a Party ?

Yes, it is a Party, but not only a Party ; rather it is a faith, a creed which has conquered the Italian people.

Will this faith be able to change the Italian people ?

This faith will change profoundly the spirit of the Italian people ; it will give them a new mode of living.

What is the new mode of living ?

To live courageously, to live in dangers, to feel repugnance for comfortable and easy living ; to be always ready to dare both in individual and common life ; to love the truth, abhor lying ; to admire frank sincerity and hate insincerity ; to feel every second of the day is Italian ; to work with discipline ; to respect authority.

Is Fascism able to impose this method of life ?

Fascism has already succeeded in imposing it for the purpose of forging the great Italy of our poets, of our soldiers, of our martyrs. From a people growing old satisfied with miserable petty interests Fascism has created a new people which has a superb opportunity to attain its ideal.

If Fascism wishes to construct, why does it sometimes destroy ?

If it sometimes tears down or destroys, it is only to prepare the foundations for a future edifice.

Just as the builder cannot construct until he has rid the soil of rocks and brambles, so Fascism cannot construct where there is still the old mentality, the old cliques, the old selfish interests.

What is the ultimate goal ?

The last century was the century of our independence. The present century should be the century of our power, power in every field, from that of the material to that of the spirit.

What is needed to attain it ?

Only that the soldiers of the Fascist ideal have the will to attain it at any cost.

THE FASCIST STATE

What is the State ?

The State is the political and juridical organisation of the national society, and it extends itself into a series of institutions of various kinds.

But, more precisely, what is the State according to Fascism ?

According to Fascism the State is the supreme authority which subordinates the activity and interests of the individual citizens to the general good of the nation. This authority is manifested in the Executive Power.

The interests of the nation, then, correspond with those of the State ?

Yes. The State cannot be anything but the united, absolute expression of the will, of the power and of the conscience of the nation, understood as the expression of the race, and all, therefore, that lies within the confines of the nation must be subject to the authority of the State. Thus

understood, the State has not only the duty, but also the right to fix the norms, the ways and the laws by which and through which the activity of the classes and the individuals is plainly determined.

What is the Executive Power ?

It is the all-powerful and operative power of the life of the nation, the power which decrees the greatest things that can occur in the history of a people ; it is the power which declares war and concludes peace.

Is there, then, a sovereign power ?

This executive power which controls all the armed forces of the State is the sovereign power of the nation. The supreme head is the King.

Does this new conception of the State clash with the old one ?

Yes. It clashes with the conception of the Marxist State and with the conception of the Liberal State, both erected upon fundamental errors.

What is the fundamental error of Marxism ?

The fundamental error of Marxism is the belief that in the State there are only two classes—that of the workers and that of the capitalists. A greater error is the belief that these two classes are in perpetual conflict. The conflict can exist, but it is momentary and not systematic.

In regard to the disagreement between classes, what is the difference between Marxism and Fascism ?

This : that for the Socialists the clash of the classes is the rule, while for Fascism the clash of the classes is the exception. For the Socialists co-operation of the classes is the exception, and for Fascism it is the rule.

Why could not the clash of the classes be the rule ?

The clash of the classes can be an episode in the life of a people, but cannot be the rule, the daily rule, because if it were the rule it would result in the destruction of riches and, therefore, in universal misery.

Capital and labour, then, are not terms in opposition ?

No. Capital and labour are not two opposing terms, but are two terms relatively complementary ; the one is powerless without the other, and therefore they should be in agreement.

How can they be in agreement ?

By reciprocally collaborating. It is to the interest of the industrialists that the working-people be at peace, lead a tranquil life, and not be annoyed by unsatisfied needs. But it is also to the interest of the working-people that business productions should develop with an ordered rhythm, since labour is the most solemn, the noblest, and the most religious thing in life.

Did Socialism recognise the legitimate rights of the working-class ?

Yes. But because they retained the theory that the multitude, the masses, the numbers, would surely be able to create a special type of civilisation in the future.

Fascism, on the contrary, desires that well-being of the proletariat because it is convinced that national tranquillity, concord, and force cannot exist if the working-class is condemned to the conditions of a life of privation.

It is just, therefore, that the working-class wishes to better its living conditions ?

It is just and legitimate that the working-class demands the betterment of its material and moral living conditions. To accomplish this it is not necessary to follow internationalistic illusions; to accomplish this it is not necessary to deny the Fatherland and the nation, because it is absurd, a crime of the greatest magnitude, to renounce one's own mother.

Why has Fascism fought the leaders of Socialism?

Since Fascism cannot be in opposition to the legitimate aspirations of labour, it has the precise duty to combat the false prophets who, in profiting by the simplicity and ignorance of the masses, by their real needs and by their real sufferings excite them brutally and blindly against the nation.

The capitalists are not, then, the enemies of the proletariat?

According to the Socialist doctrine the capitalists are the tyrants, the vampires of the impotent proletariat. According to the Fascist doctrine the modern capitalists are the captains of industry, the greatest organisers, men who have, and must have, the highest sense of civil and economic responsibility, men on whom depends the destiny of thousands and tens of thousands of workers.

What is property?

Property is certainly not theft, as one reads in the base socialistic literature, but frequently it is the result of the savings and of the fatigues on the part of people who have taken upon themselves the hardest trials, who often have deprived themselves of the necessities of life in order to gather together the estate which then had the sacred right of being transmitted to those who follow after.

Is property, then, a right ?

Yes. But it is not only a right, it is also a duty ; it is not a selfish good, it is rather a good that should be employed and developed to the advantage of others.

THE LEADER

What is necessary for the successful issue of all the vast work of national reconstruction ?

For the successful issue of all the vast work of national reconstruction the enthusiastic self-sacrificing concord of the Italian people guided and illuminated by the iron will of Benito Mussolini is necessary.

Who is Benito Mussolini ?

Benito Mussolini is the Leader of Fascism and the Head of the Fascist State, the son of predilection of the rejuvenated Fatherland, and the one who was successful in saving it from the precipice towards which it was rushing with blindfold eyes, and who is now the guide for the attainment of the superb ideals worthy of past glory.

Why is he the Leader of Fascism ?

Because it was he who created Fascism, the unvanquished defender of the country against its mongrel sons and external enemies, the tenacious asserter of the rights of Italy.

Why is he the Head of the Government ?

Because as the sole Head of Fascism he had routed the various parties rushing Italy towards ruin, and was able to harvest the miserable heritage of preceding governments and upon these miseries of a sorrowful past to reconstruct the future. This captured the people, who proclaim him with one

great voice ; this captured the King, who confided to him the government of the country.

From whom does he derive his power ?

The power of Benito Mussolini is derived from the King and from the people both.

Where was Mussolini born ?

He was born at Preddapio in the Province of Forli ; but the country where he was born does not matter. He is the son of Italy, and all Italy adores him as the greatest of her sons.

Does he come of a noble family ?

No. His father was a blacksmith who forged the red-hot iron upon the anvil. He himself as a child used to help his father in hard and lowly labour.

How was he able to rise so high ?

By his tenacious will, his tireless energy, his serene confidence in his power, his ardent love for the country and the people.

What are his ambitions ?

He has no personal ambitions. His sole ambition is to render the Italian people strong, prosperous, great, and free.

What is his greatest ideal ?

For the twentieth century to see Rome, centre of Italian culture, mistress of the Mediterranean, the light for all nations.

Does he love, therefore, the Italian people ?

He loves them jealously but severely. He does not seek to flatter them with the sonorous rhetoric of beautiful phrases, but he seeks to educate them to manly undertakings, and if to-morrow it were necessary to be severe with them he would know how to act.

Does he love boys ?

Very much. It is his tenderest affection. He sees in the boys of to-day the future of the country, and he wishes to, and will, devote himself to their worthy preparation.

Is this why the people follow him ?

It is for this the people follow him and love him, and this love is the greatest reward for his toil.

Does the government cause him toil ?

A huge toil, but he is not tired because he belongs to the race of the newest Italians, who are never alarmed, but proceed intrepidly on the way marked out to lead to destiny. He himself has said : " If I advance, follow me ; if I retreat, kill me ; if I am killed, vindicate me."

What is the motto of his life ?

The motto of his life is that of the new Italianism : " To stand steadfast is to advance."

What is the duty of Italians towards Mussolini and towards the Fascist Revolution ?

It is contained in this oath : " I swear to follow without demur the orders of the *Duce* and to serve the cause of the Fascist Revolution with all my power and, if need be, with my blood."

Why is the Church considered one of the bases of national Society ?

Because religion is the sacred patrimony of the people, and because the Church has the supreme dominion of it.

What does Fascism recognise in the Church ?

Fascism recognises in the Church this supreme dominion, her universality, her necessary liberty in the religious field, the immense moral force exercised by her in the world, and Fascism has

imposed, and will continue to impose, respect for the Church in public life.

Has the Church some particular significance for Fascism ?

For Fascism the Latin and imperial traditions of Rome are represented also by Catholicism, which is a universal idea radiating from Rome.

Can Fascism be non-religious ?

No. Fascism is not atheistic, it is an army of believers. Only religion makes possible the realisation of the great human ideals. Science strives anxiously to explain the phenomena of life, but does not succeed in explaining all ; there remains always a sphere of mystery, a closed wall on which one word alone should be written : " God."

. . . . .

The foregoing exposé of Fascist doctrine is a remarkable document. While the Latin exuberance of language strikes a Northern ear as somewhat bombastic, it is nevertheless expressed purposely in simple phrases because it is written for the simplest to understand. It is a remarkable document because it must be borne in mind that while it is written in the form of a Catechism, it is not one of those Catechisms given either to be committed to memory or ignored—a Catechism that one is exhorted to follow—it is more than that, for it embodies the Rules of a State ; therefore, it is a Catechism not only to be learned but to be obeyed. The Fascist State can, and does, enforce its Catechism.

Chapter VI

THE TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNTY OF THE POPE

NOTHING new has to be adduced nor need be looked for to uphold the right of the Papacy to temporal sovereignty, for it has the sanction of a thousand years and has never been abandoned. If this principle has been attacked, and it has been again and again during the past one hundred and thirty years, if Popes have been led into captivity or driven into the seclusion of the Vatican, it means no more or no less than a violation of recognised sovereign rights on the one hand, and outrages to the persons of the successors of St. Peter on the other. What other power on earth could have withstood the determined onslaughts the Church of Rome has had to face on her own territory within the memory of man? That territory has been almost entirely lost these sixty years—a mere span in the life of the Catholic Church—yet during those years of trial that have followed the seizure of the Papal States the membership and the influence of the Church have grown and waxed as never before, while the authority of the Pope, crystallised in the little Vatican City, remains a true temporal sovereignty, questioned by none.

Macaulay, the great English historian, wrote the following lines before 1870; had he written them after that year, the sagacious observers he alluded to might well have been even more convinced that the Church was doomed:

"It is [he writes in his Essays] not strange that, in the year 1799, even sagacious observers should have thought

that, at length, the hour of the Church of Rome was come. An infidel power ascendant, the Pope dying in captivity, the most illustrious prelates of France living in a foreign country on Protestant alms, the noblest edifices, which the munificence of former ages had consecrated to the worship of God, turned into temples of Victory, or into banqueting-houses for political societies . . .

" But the end was not yet. Again doomed to death, the milk-white hind was still fated not to die. Even before the funeral rites had been performed over the ashes of Pius the Sixth a great reaction had commenced, which, after the lapse of more than forty years, appears to be still in progress. . . .

" The Arabs have a fable that the Great Pyramid was built by antediluvian kings, and alone, of all the works of men, bore the weight of the flood. Such as this was the fate of the Papacy. It had been buried under the great inundation but its deep foundations had remained unshaken ; and, when the waters abated, it appeared alone amongst the ruins of a world which has passed away. The republic of Holland was gone, and the empire of Germany, and the great Council of Venice, and the House of Bourbon, and the parliaments and aristocracy of France. Europe was full of young creations, a French empire, a kingdom of Italy, a confederation of the Rhine. . . . But the unchangeable Church was still there."

Macaulay wrote of another century than ours, of other political upheavals and mutations in the affairs of men and forms of governments, but the picture he paints bears a significant resemblance, nevertheless, to our own time and the changes that have followed in the wake of the great war ; not the least striking parallel that may be drawn between the two eras will be found in the Church that changes not throughout the ages.

If, as we have said, there is no necessity for seeking anything new to add to the historic right of the Popes to temporal sovereignty, still, there is a great deal that is old that might be recalled with advantage at this time, when the accord between the Holy See and the Italian Government has aroused such intense interest in both hemispheres. And just because what is to be said is old, and not new, we think it best to base this summary of temporal sovereignty on one of many books that have been written on the subject, on the writings of one whose word will carry conviction wherever the English language is spoken, one whose saintly life, beautiful character, and profound learning were the admiration of his countrymen—irrespective of religion—and of the whole Catholic world, Cardinal Manning. No better foundation could be possible nor could any other account be more authoritative than his. This illustrious prelate was a contemporary of Pius IX, and he wrote the volume,[1] which we shall follow almost textually, when the injustices suffered by Pius IX and the Holy See burned hot in the breasts of all Catholics. Time has long since cooled that sense of a great wrong; to-day the fires are quenched completely.

Cardinal Manning's purpose in his work on the Independence of the Holy See was to make clear the four following points: First, what is the sovereignty or independence or temporal power with which God has invested the Head of His Church upon earth. Secondly, what was the violation of that independence and sovereignty by the acts of violence which were perpetrated in

[1] Manning, *The Independence of the Holy See*, London, 1877.

the seven years from 1870 to 1877 which he had under review. Thirdly, what have been and what must be the consequences of that violation. And, lastly, what he considered to be the duty of every Catholic, indeed of every Christian who believed that the Word of God is supreme over all human law, and that the authority of the Christian Church on earth is independent of all civil government.

Cardinal Manning explains the sovereignty in these two sentences: "It is the dependence of the Head of the Church upon God alone, and his consequent independence of any human authority." These two truths lie at the bottom of and include the whole subject. He then proceeds to answer the questions which always have been, and, possibly, always will be, asked. In the beginning the Head of the Church, or the Bishop of Rome, as men call him, had no temporal power. "Why should he have now what he had not then?" or, "He was subject to the Roman Emperor then; why can he not be subject to any civil power now?" or again, "If it had been the will of God to give him a sovereignty of his own, He would have done so; but if He did, as you affirm, then He has taken it away." In answer to a fourth question: "If the temporal power be essential to the spiritual, how is it that for so many centuries the Popes exercised their spiritual power without it?" Cardinal Manning rather plaintively protests that for eighteen years (since 1859) the Church both by speaking and writing had repeated over and over again in words as express as it could find, that the temporal power was not necessary to the spiritual

THE SWISS GUARDS IN CEREMONIAL UNIFORM

power, because the spiritual power stands by its own strength as God planted it. For centuries it exercised its full sway and authority before, as yet, it was clothed with any temporal prerogative. The temporal power is necessary, not to the spiritual power itself, but to the free, independent, and peaceful exercise of that spiritual power which has been, nevertheless, practised for many hundred years through persecution and martyrdom, imprisonment and bonds.

In order to make this subject clearer it will be an aid to distinguish the three periods in which the Popes have exercised their office. The first period was one of persecution; the second period was one of liberation from all civil sovereignty, at first partial, and finally complete; the third period was one in which the Pontiff was first partially invested with temporal power, and finally completely clothed with the sovereignty which for a thousand years he possessed until 1870. Throughout the whole of that time the Popes wielded the full and complete primacy of St. Peter in all its spiritual prerogatives of faith and jurisdiction over the whole flock on earth. Every part and particle of that primacy was exercised by Pius IX at the time the anti-Catholic and anti-Christian revolution deprived him of his States, just as Pius XI exercises it at this day. People ask: "Why was there in the first three hundred years of the Church's history no vestige of temporal power?" For this reason, there was then no Christian world; there was only a pagan world, and in that pagan world all that Christians could do was to preach the Gospel, and to suffer for it. In the midst of the

heathen empire of Rome the Christians obeyed in all lawful things, and the Head of the Church himself never contested any point whatsoever of the public law except when it was contrary to the law of God. Why, then, were they martyred? They were called upon to sacrifice to the heathen gods, and they refused. They were called upon to burn incense on the altar of an idol, and they refused. For this they were tortured or they were cast into the Tiber. By the Imperial law no society could exist except a society incorporated by the laws of the Empire. The Christian Church is a perfect society in itself, incorporated by its Divine Head, it existed in the heart of the heathen empire in spite of all prohibitory law. It broke through the Imperial law by the very fact of its existence. It was an illicit society. By the Imperial law it was forbidden that any religion, or any worship, should be practised except the religions and worships recognised by the Imperial authority. The worship of every heathen deity of every nation that Rome had conquered was recognised by the Roman law; there was but one worship forbidden, one worship not known to the law, and that was the worship of the only true God. The Christians, therefore, practised what was called an illicit religion in spite of the law, in defiance of the law, and laid down their lives for disobedience to the Imperial will. Thirdly, the Imperial law forbade that any society, even if the society were lawful, should possess property or goods without the sanction or faculty of the Imperial law. The faithful sold their lands and houses and laid the price of them at the Apostles' feet. The Apostles possessed the property, which

was devoted to the service of the Church, and held by a higher right than that of any Imperial law—that is, by a Divine right ; for that which was given to the Church was given to God—it therefore belonged to the Church by a higher title and by a more indefeasible possession than that of any human law. We find, therefore, that this spiritual authority of the Church from the beginning was exercised in its full extent during the times of persecution and in the face of the prohibition of the Imperial law, and of the hostile might of the Empire. It may be said : "There is no sign of temporal power thus far." Certainly not. What temporal power could the Head of the Christian Church exercise in a world which did not believe in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ ? What temporal power could he exercise in a world that did not believe even in the spiritual power of the Church itself ?

The Church then entered into a second period —the period in which the Head was liberated from all subjection or obedience to any civil authority. The Roman Empire, which had spread itself far into the East, had Byzantium—the modern Constantinople—as a second chief seat of Imperial power. The Empire was divided in its administration, so that there were two Emperors, one in its Western and one in its Eastern division. The two Emperors reigned as colleagues at one and the same time, sharing the Imperial authority, just as two Consuls had governed the republic of an earlier day.

Constantine is held by some historians to have become a Christian at this period, others place his conversion nearer the end of his life. In any event,

Constantine's colleague, Licinius, was still a pagan. It was now that a great change was to take place in the power and authority of the Church. Maxentius at the head of a strong heathen army barred the way to Rome until Constantine with his legions, which numbered many Christian soldiers in their ranks, obtained a complete and final victory over this pagan army of the West at a pitched battle at the Milvian Bridge outside the walls of Rome. Maxentius was killed, his army routed, and Constantine entered the city in triumph on October 28, 312. The effect of this victory was soon to be seen in the decree of toleration issued during the following year at Milan by the two Emperors, permitting the profession and practice of the Christian Faith freely throughout the Empire. From that day Constantine began to legislate in favour of Christianity. First of all he liberated every bishop, priest, and ecclesiastical person from the obligation of performing civil or military service ; he exempted them from the payment of taxes, and confirmed the judicial power of the bishops, who had already exercised the office of judge from the earliest times. Once more he gave to them the power of manumitting or enfranchising slaves ; further he began to build Christian churches, he appointed priests to accompany the army and provided them with a tent for Divine worship. Beyond this, again, he made laws for the observance of Sunday, and many other practices of the Christian religion. While these things were happening in the West, Licinius, still pagan, was becoming jealous in the East, and fearful lest the authority of Constantine should overbalance his own. He

therefore began to persecute the Christians, and to remove them from all offices under the State or about his own person. This ended in a war which may be called distinctly a war of Christians against pagans, in which Constantine completely destroyed the army of Licinius. Licinius was slain, thus leaving Constantine henceforth to reign as sole Emperor over the whole Empire. Thus came about the downfall of paganism in the East. Constantine, however, found himself in Rome face to face with a Senate of which a great part was pagan still, whereas Byzantium offered him a new field, independent of any power but his own; thither he went, giving to the city his own name—thus Byzantium became Constantinople, Imperial, and Christian, and the capital of the Empire in place of Rome.

From the day when Constantine translated the seat of Empire from the Old Rome to the New, there never resided within the walls of Rome Emperor or King permanently exercising an authority over the Roman Pontiffs. There were delegates and Dukes and representatives of Constantinople who were shadows of a distant authority; but the one sole, real governing power from that day onwards, which preserved Rome again and again from destruction, was the unbroken line of Roman Pontiffs. As an example, St. Leo the Great twice preserved the city from sack and ruin. When, in 452, Attila, the "scourge of God," with his army menaced Rome, St. Leo went out to him, and by his personal moral power prevailed over him and turned him back. When Genseric, in like manner, advanced against Rome, and the

city was in his grasp, St. Leo once more, by the majesty of his presence and by his Apostolic authority, prevailed upon him to leave the holy city untouched. It was not the Emperors of Constantinople, it was not the legions of the Empire that preserved Rome from the ravages of the hordes that came down upon Italy. The Heruli, the Goths, the Visigoths, the Huns and the Lombards poured over the country, and time upon time surrounded Rome, and Rome was saved from age to age, not by Constantinople, but by the Roman Pontiffs. During this time the authority of Constantinople over the Pontiffs became so shadowy as to be imperceptible. Nevertheless, the latter never rebelled, never assumed royalty; they followed the example of their Master, who, when He knew "that they were coming to take Him and make him King, fled into the mountain alone"; they withdrew whenever power was offered to them; they never stretched out a hand to possess themselves of it. St. Leo wrote to the Emperor acknowledging him to be Sovereign of the Empire. St. Gregory, likewise, wrote to the Emperor Maurice acknowledging him to be the Emperor wielding the supreme civil power; but in that very letter in which he acknowledged him as such he censured the Imperial law, and told him that his law was at variance with the law of God; that is to say, in the very moment of acknowledging him as Emperor he declared the Imperial law to be null because it was contrary to the law of God. Thus far there was a partial liberation only, but there was a complete liberation yet to come.

Cardinal Manning uses here the following example

better to illustrate his meaning. There was a time when Britain was a province of the Roman Empire, but when the last Roman legion left its shores, Britain fell from the Roman Empire. From that day to this it has been independent. There was a time when the Kings of England claimed to be Kings over a large part of the North of France. Has the Crown of England, or does it claim to have, at this day, a right over the North of France? What has extinguished the rights of the Roman Empire over Britain? The extinction of the Roman Empire; while the extinction of the right of the Crown of England over the North of France was due to the withdrawal of English power in that country. In like manner the successive invasions of barbaric hordes, and, above all, the invasion of the Lombards between 790 and 799 extinguished utterly and destroyed the last vestige of the Roman Empire in Italy: it was swept away, it existed no longer. Where, thenceforth, was the subjection of the Roman Pontiff to an Emperor whose Empire had ceased to be? Italy was left, from the Alps to the sea, without a civil master. There was no one to possess it, no one to defend it, no one had a right to claim it as his own. There was no one able to exercise the office of protector over that which once had been the seat of Empire. But, further, the barbarian hordes acquired no right by their invasions, they were aggressors and usurpers, and their conquests conveyed no title of sovereignty; they were there occupying provinces not their own, and they executed upon a corrupt Empire the just sentence of God.

When the civil authority had perished there

remained in Rome one sole person, who had been Father, Pastor, Lawgiver, Protector, and Head of the people, to whom they turned as their supreme spiritual guide, around whom they had gathered in all their perils. The line of the Roman Pontiffs was left. As St. Leo, in the fifth century, had twice preserved Rome from sack and ruin, so in the eighth century Pope Zachary twice preserved it from destruction at the hands of the Lombards. When the Greek Emperor Leo became a heretic and a persecutor, he conspired against the life of Pope Sergius. The people of Rome rallied around Sergius and protected him. They then renounced the last remnant of visionary authority and of theoretical submission which bound the Commonwealth of Rome to Constantinople. From that time onwards the Roman Pontiffs remained the sole and only governors of Rome. Between the years 790 and 799, when the city was again threatened, first Pepin and afterwards Charlemagne was invited to come to protect Rome against the persistent Lombards. With their armies they gave this protection, and for this they were created Patricians, that is, defenders and protectors of the Holy City, Charlemagne was then consecrated Emperor.

By that act an Empire was created afresh in the West, but by what authority? By the Roman Pontiff Leo III. He did not create a master or a sovereign ruler of Rome, but a protector and defender of the city which had been preserved for centuries by his predecessors and himself. It was on Christmas Day in the year 800 that St. Leo consecrated the first Emperor of the West in the basilica of St. Peter, and from that day to the

year 1870 the Roman Pontiffs continued in rightful possession of Rome, and of the supreme civil power over it, not by human donations, but by the Providence of God.

After England had ceased to be a Roman province, after the invasions of the Angles, Jutes, Danes, and Saxons had rent the country with wars and civil feuds, it at last grew up into a stable monarchy, and from nearly that same date of 800, over a thousand years ago, it has continued to be a monarchy, never overthrown, never interrupted, except by its own transient intestine contentions; so, in like manner, the sovereignty of the Roman Pontiffs over Rome has continued to run through the history of Christian Europe. They were assailed again and again by German Emperors, by the Counts of the Marches, by factions in Rome and by invaders of every kind and name, for it cannot be said that their possession has been peaceful; on the contrary, it has been a perpetual warfare, but the line of their sovereignty has never been broken. Many Popes never set foot in Rome or were driven out of it; counting from the beginning they would number some five and forty. St. Gregory, known to Englishmen as Hildebrand, died in exile, as was the fate also of Pius VI. Pius VII was carried away by the French and was six years in captivity. Pius IX, in our own memory, was forced to flee to Gaeta, yet in him and his successors was continued the line of the sovereignty of Rome down to this day.

Cardinal Manning fifty years ago, in speaking of the period of revolution which began at the end of the eighteenth century, expressed the opinion that there could be no permanency in the attitude

of the nations of his day towards the Holy See—an attitude which amounted to a tacit connivance in the hemming in of the Pope, and to consenting that he should be a sovereign no longer. In his words:

"If this shall last, if this be permanent, then the political order of the Christian world will be dissolved. But I do not believe the order of the Christian world to be dissolved. I believe that the period of revolution, the reaction from the despotisms which went before it, has, for a time, submerged and carried away the Christian order of Europe; but it will not be for ever."

For if it perished, there would be nothing to describe such a state except the words: "We have no King but Cæsar." The great Cardinal's faith has been justified, for in Italy we have witnessed the re-establishment of a sovereignty which was the victim of the revolutionary spirit he condemned.

The facts and premises upon which Cardinal Manning based his review of the true sovereignty of the Popes over Rome are confirmed, as he asserts, by non-Catholic historians, whose opinions he is at pains to quote rather than those of Catholic writers. Among others, Gibbon, who became a bitter enemy not of the Catholic Church alone, but of Christianity. In his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* Gibbon fully bears out all that Cardinal Manning required in proof of his assertion. In writing of Rome and the Romans in the eighth century, when, as he says, the sovereignty of the Greek Emperors was extinguished, Gibbon adds:

"The want of laws could only be supplied by the influence of religion, and their foreign and domestic counsels were moderated by the authority of the Bishop. His alms, his sermons, his correspondence with the kings and prelates of the West, his recent services, their gratitude and oath, accustomed the Romans to consider him as the first magistrate, or Prince of the city. The Christian humility of the Pope was not offended by the name of *Dominus*, or Lord; and their face and inscription are still apparent on the most ancient coins. The Temporal Dominion is now confirmed by the reverence of a thousand years, and their noblest title is the free choice of a people whom they have redeemed from slavery." [1]

The German historian, Professor Döllinger, whose *History of the Church* Cardinal Manning held to be both just and accurate, is another witness to bear testimony to the English Cardinal's thesis. Professor Döllinger declares the existence of Papal sovereignty in these words:

"By their (the Byzantine Emperors') perfect inability to guard them (the Romans), and protect them against the attacks of the Lombards, they had forfeited their claims to those provinces; and over Rome and the Roman Dukedom, the sovereignty of the Pope had been established during the course of the eighth century. . . . The Imperial sovereignty (of Charlemagne) was naturally extended over the States of the Church, but without any trespass on the authority of the Pontiff. The Pope continued to be what he had been, Lord of Rome, and of the Dukedom. . . . The Pope was not, therefore, subject to the Emperor; the Romans, indeed, swore to him an oath of fidelity, but they pledged themselves with an express reservation of the fidelity due by them to the Roman Pontiff, their Sovereign." [2]

[1] Gibbon, *Hist.*, etc., vol. vi, pp. 151, 152, London, 1862.

[2] Döllinger, *History of the Church*, vol. iii, pp. 118, 119; *vide* Appendix V.

Still another testimony is to be found in a passage written by an authority on international law in the last century—one who was no friend to the supremacy of Rome. His words are these: "The spoliations of the Pope are as repugnant to decency as to justice; they wound both the intellect and the heart." [1]

All Christians believe with Cardinal Manning that when our Lord sent out His Apostles He gave them a supreme spiritual power to govern the Church. Catholics further believe that He had already given that power in its fullness to Peter, their head and chief, the foundation of His Church and, after He ascended into Heaven, His Vicar upon earth. They believe also that this Divine power exists in the world at this moment in the office of Peter, perpetuated in the person of his successor; in this we have the whole outline before us of the epoch-making Allocution of Pius IX,[2] addressed to the Cardinals in the Consistory of March 12, 1877, on the persecution of the Holy See and of the Church in Italy.

The successor of Peter in this Allocution declared in clear and energetic words, and in the hearing of all the nations of Christendom, that the supreme office entrusted to him by a Divine commission was at that moment violated by the usurpation of men, by the injustice of those who had despoiled the Holy See of the Sovereignty which the Providence of God had bestowed upon it, and by the insidious attempt then (since 1870) made still

[1] De Praat, *Le Congrès de Vienne*, tom. ii, p. 46.
[2] *Vide* Appendix IV.

further to bind its supreme authority by human and penal legislation.[1]

Enough has been said to explain the origin of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, and the universal recognition it has enjoyed since the eighth century; at no time during the great span of years that has elapsed since Leo III sat upon the Papal Throne has the Pope of Rome ceased to be a sovereign, and Italy now joins some thirty governments, including all the great Powers except the United States, which, if only by the presence of their Ambassadors and Ministers Plenipotentiary accredited to the Holy See, formally admit this sovereignty in the person of Pius XI.

[1] *Vide* letter addressed to the Apostolic Nuncios by Cardinal Simeoni, Secretary of State to Pius IX, on the action of the Italian Government with respect to the Allocution. Appendix VI.

Chapter VII

THE ORIGIN OF THE PAPAL STATES

THE Popes of Rome have always insisted upon the necessity of a visible proof of their temporal sovereignty—this they had in the "Patrimony of Peter," the possessions of the Holy See. Before the end of the persecutions these possessions must have been important. Constantine, after his victory over Maxentius, entered Rome in time to make generous gifts to the Pope, St. Melchiades (311–314), who died the following year; he bestowed the Lateran Palace upon him and built the adjoining church of St. John the Baptist, commonly called St. John Lateran, which is the cathedral of the Bishop of Rome. The Lateran Palace had been the residence of the Empress Fausta; it became the home of the Popes until they removed to Avignon. The present palace is on the site of that destroyed by fire in 1398.

The tradition is very constant that Constantine built a church over the tomb of St. Peter at the foot of the Vatican hill; he built also another church in honour of the Prince of the Apostles, which was the predecessor of the St. Peter's of our time. Other churches which go back to the days of the great Emperor are St. Lawrence, St. Agnes, and St. Marcellinus.

The edict of Milan (313) which permitted the Church as a corporation to possess property in the Empire was the legal basis of the Patrimony of St. Peter. The gifts of the Lateran Palace and other buildings serve in history as a foundation for the legend of the donation of Constantine, which

is based on the chronicle of the Pseudo-Isidor and of Gratien. It was generally accepted as true until the fifteenth century, when Nicholas de Cusa and Lorenzo Valla contested its authenticity.[1] Most probably this document did not come from Rome, but from France, where it served to defend, against the Greeks, the Imperial sovereignty which Charlemagne received from the Pope. The most ancient manuscript known concerning this subject was written in France during the ninth century. In Rome the Donation was mentioned for the first time under Leo IX (1049–1054). It would be strange to hear a Roman of the ninth century call the Primacy of the Popes a favour of Constantine.

Wealthy citizens followed the example of their Emperor, giving possessions in their lifetime or making the Roman Church their heir at their death. Such, for example, was the manner of the founding of the basilica of St. Mary Major. In this way the Patrimony of St. Peter grew and extended far beyond Rome, until in the course of the next few centuries the Church had become the chief owner of land in the whole of Italy.[2]

Between the conversion of Constantine and the time of St. Gregory the Great, about the year 590, the Roman Pontiff had twenty-three patrimonies. He possessed Rome and the country round about it, he also possessed many districts of Northern and Central Italy, including Ravenna, parts of the South of Italy, parts of the coast of the Mediterranean including Genoa, parts of the South

[1] Albers, *Manuel d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1926. (Translation from the Dutch.)

[2] Stebbing, *The Story of the Catholic Church*, London.

of France, the coasts of the Adriatic, Sardinia, Sicily, and parts of Northern Africa ; these portions of the old Roman Empire, abandoned as Britain was abandoned, fell under the sole tutelage of the Roman Pontiffs, who exercised a civilising influence, while, at the same time, they Christianised the population which inhabited those lands. In this way were sown the seeds of the Christian civilisation which spread afterwards throughout Europe. This was the first Christian civilisation in Europe, one which must have had an all-powerful effect upon the condition of men through the Sacrament of Christian marriage, and the indissoluble bond of the domestic life with all the sanctions founded on this Sacrament. A whole population accepting the Christian law of marriage, and holding it sacred, at once rose from the corruption of paganism to the level of Christian life. Slavery was steadily abolished ; wheresoever the Pontiffs were able, they immediately manumitted slaves. Christian households at once rose among the most outcast populations of the world. It was this leaven in the meal, working from Rome as its centre, that afterwards spread itself through Europe.

When this Christian civilisation, which already and fully existed within the walls of Rome, was spreading through the twenty-three patrimonies of the Church, where was the Christian Europe of to-day ? England in the time of St. Gregory I, although it had once been Christian, had become pagan again. The Saxons had extinguished its Christianity. Gaul, which had not even the name of France, was rent and torn by perpetual race wars ; portions of it, indeed, were Christian, but

Chauffourier

CASTEL GANDOLFO AND LAKE ALBANO

Where the Pope will have a summer residence

Grafia

A GLIMPSE OF BERNINI'S COLONNADE

there was no Christian France. Germany was heathen. Russia had not even a name on the map ; it was a far-eastern, unknown, and barbarous land. Prussia even to the thirteenth century was heathen. Hungary was heathen until the tenth century. Spain was overrun by Goths, who were partly heathen, partly Arian. Christian Europe had no existence. Nevertheless, at that time a ripe and a mature civilisation existed in Rome in the patrimonies of the Church. Perhaps the earliest of all the Christian States sprang up in the little commonwealth of Venice. The next was the great Frankish Empire, which was consecrated by St. Leo III and which in time parted itself asunder into Germany and France. England was recovered by the missionaries sent out by St. Gregory the Great and became Christian. Spain was recovered from the Arianism of the Visigoths and became Christian and Catholic Spain. From what source came the influence that wrought this change ? It was the Christian civilisation of the Roman Pontiffs which spread through these lands and created the Christian Europe of to-day.

Christian Rome itself was the creation of the Bishops of Rome. Men write as if the city of Rome were the creation of the Cæsars. The Rome of the Cæsars was again and again wrecked to the ground. St. Gregory the Great said after the invasion of the Lombards : " After the men were dead, the walls fell down." There is a Rome threefold deep under the present Rome—Rome upon Rome, Rome destroyed, Rome rebuilt, Rome destroyed again, and rebuilt once more.[1]

[1] Manning, *The Independence of the Holy See*, London, 1877.

The Pontiffs may be said to have rebuilt it twice. In the time of Belisarius Rome was so wrecked that for eight days there was not a breathing inhabitant in it; the foxes ran over the Aventine Hill, and the whole city was in a state of complete dislocation. It rose again under that fostering care of the Bishops, for there was left no other authority that cared to stir a finger for its rebuilding. Rome was rebuilt from its foundations and surrounded again with walls by the Pontiffs, and by them alone.

Its basilicas, its 400 churches were raised by the Pontiffs, or by the Christian nations of the world. Rome has been the great treasure-house of Christian piety and devotion. And around about all these works, which were not raised by an Italian monarchy or an Italian revolution, the Pontiffs created all those institutes of charity, all the houses of learning, all the religious Orders, all the missionary colleges, all those spiritual resources of power and action whereby Rome has wrought upon the face of the earth for the salvation and the civilisation of men. If ever sovereign had an inalienable right to any city, then the Sovereign Pontiff has a right to Eternal Rome; yet Pius XI has relinquished that right in favour of the circumscribed precincts of the Vatican City.

Chapter VIII

THE VATICAN CITY

WHEN Pope Urban V returned to Rome from Avignon in 1367 he found that the old home of the Popes, the Lateran Palace, had become almost a ruin. The long exile of the Pontiffs from Rome lasted seventy-two years; during that period many of the splendid palaces of the city had been permitted to fall into decay. The Vatican was not in much better condition than the Lateran, but Urban decided to install himself there, it being his intention to re-establish the Papacy in its ancient capital; this, however, he was not fated to do, for he returned to Avignon and died there shortly afterwards. In the meantime, the restoration of the Vatican had been commenced by his orders.

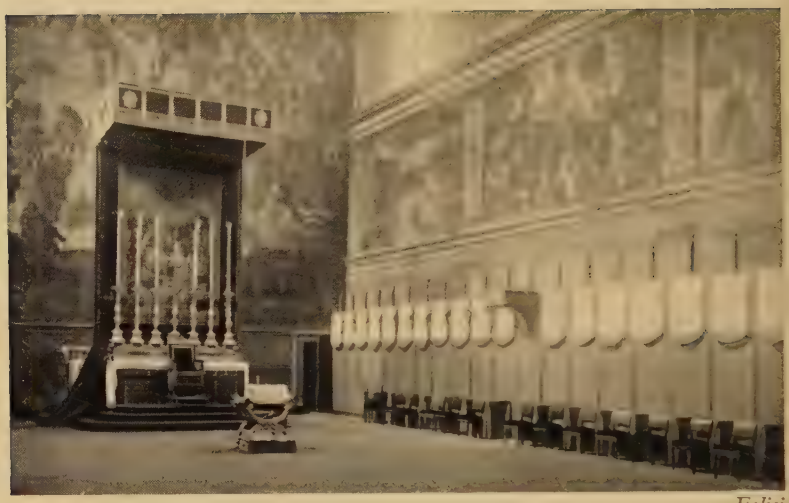
The Conclave which was held at Viterbo in 1370 was of such long duration that a solution for the deliberations of the Cardinals had to be found in locking them in until they decided upon a successor to Urban. From this Conclave emerged Gregory XI, who definitely established the Papacy once more in Rome (1377), so that the Vatican has now been the home of the Popes for over five hundred and fifty years. The first ones to inhabit it all added to its size and embellished it until it became the wonderful storehouse of the arts and sciences it is to-day, but the chief splendour of the modern Vatican dates from the sixteenth century. The frescoes of Michelangelo, of Raphael and Fra Angelico, make it supreme among the palaces of the world.

Gregory XI lived but a year after the return to

Rome, and in 1378 the first election was held in the Vatican: the procedure followed at that election has received ever since the sanction of the laws of the Church.

It will be necessary here to refer only to those Popes during whose reigns the Vatican attained to its present size and importance. Between the years 1367 and 1592 the great work was completed, giving us the building as it stands at present. Alexander V and John XXII joined it to the Castle of Sant Angelo in 1409–1410 by a corridor which would enable the Popes in times of danger to seek safety in the massive stronghold built by Hadrian as a tomb for himself and his successors. It was in 1527, while defending Clement VII in this fortress, that Benvenuto Cellini claimed to have shot the Connétable de Bourbon. The corridor still exists.

Eugene V, who died in 1447, ornamented the palace with a fine entrance-portal and built the Chapel that was glorified by the frescoes of Fra Angelico, depicting the lives of St. Lawrence and St. Stephen. The inspired friar of Florence completed this work during the pontificate of Nicholas V, who was the real author of the work of transforming the Vatican—a work of several centuries—into the apostolic residence we are now familiar with ; that is to say, it was he who formed the plan of creating not only a palace for himself and his successors, but also to group the Papal Court and all the branches of the government of the Holy See in a self-contained Vatican City. This Pontiff left a rich legacy to posterity in the additions he caused to be made to the palace, in



Felici

THE SISTINE CHAPEL AFTER THE CONCLAVE

When the Cardinals enter the Conclave there is a canopy over every chair. When the election is declared the canopies are lowered except the one over the newly-elected Pope. The raised canopy indicates the chair of Pope Pius XI

Felici

A GALLERY IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY

Pius XI was Prefect of the Vatican Library from 1914 to 1918

their decoration, and in forming the first collections of books for the library that is now one of the most remarkable and complete in the world. He did not live to achieve his ambitious plans in their entirety, but the work he projected was not neglected by those who followed him on the Throne of Peter. Nicholas died in 1455; he was followed by Calixtus III, Pius II, and Paul II, who each added one detail or another, but their reigns contributed no great outstanding feature of architecture or art.

The constructors of what we may call the modern Vatican began with Sixtus IV in 1471. The Sistine Chapel, which perpetuates his name, was built by this Pope, although the stupendous frescoes of Michelangelo were added some sixty years later under Clement VII and Paul III. Sixtus IV built a wing to hold the magnificent library which is worthy of the treasures it guards. The writer of these pages, who had the privilege of undertaking research work there amongst its hospitable custodians, knows no great national library so splendidly housed, so well lighted and spacious, and so perfectly indexed and arranged, incredibly vast as it is.

Innocent VIII must have been a lover of gardens; he built a summer *villino* and the pavilion called the Belvedere in the extensive gardens where the Popes have taken their restricted exercise since the evil days of 1870. From the Belvedere a pleasant view is opened up to the verdant country beyond the wall. Alexander VI will be remembered for many reasons, but what a debt he has exacted from all lovers of the purest expression of art by having summoned Pinturicchio to decorate the

Borgia apartments with the paintings which have immortalised the name of that artist!

Under Julius II and Leo X very important structural alterations were carried out in uniting the old palace of Nicholas V and his immediate successors to the Belvedere of Innocent VIII. This work was entrusted to Bramante, who designed the great courtyard and also the *logge* around the *Cortile di San Damaso*. Their lasting memorial, however, is to be found in the commencement during their reigns of the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel by Michelangelo, and the completion by Raphael of Bramante's work, his supervision over the decoration of the *logge*, and his own glorious Stanze. Raphael was only twenty-five when Julius II called him to decorate these rooms in 1508. All were completed except the last room when the youthful painter died in 1520.

The sack of Rome in 1527 by the unruly Bourbon soldiery interrupted the decoration of the Sistine Chapel. It was not until 1534 that Clement VII recalled Michelangelo to complete his work; he was then an old man, but in six years he had finished the colossal Last Judgment on the Altar wall. Paul III was at that time on the throne; he will be remembered by the Pauline Chapel and the *Sala Ducale*. The former contains two frescoes by Michelangelo.

Gregory XII, Sixtus V, and Clement VIII (1572–1592) were responsible for the last additions to the Vatican which give it its present-day aspect. If no Pope during the past three hundred and fifty years has added greatly to the splendour of his pontifical palace, it has been because there was

nothing left to do. Many, however, have either restored parts of it or embellished it in some way; Leo XIII, as an example, restored the Borgia Apartment to what it must have been when Pinturicchio laid down his palette and brushes. Leo XIII redeemed this priceless apartment from the neglect that had been its lot since Julius II, who detested the memory of the Spanish Pope, ordered the apartment to be closed a few years after the death of Alexander VI in 1503.

St. Peter's also suffered during the absence of the Popes in Avignon. Julius II in 1506 commenced the work of restoration which was to occupy more than a century. The gigantic façade was completed in 1612 under Paul V, and in 1626 Urban VIII was able to dedicate the new Basilica, which incorporates the genius of Michelangelo, Raphael, Bramante, Sangallo, Vignola, Giacomo della Porta and Maderna.

The marvellous colonnade of Bernini was erected in two years (1665–1667). The great obelisk in the centre of the Piazza once stood in the Circus where it had been placed by the Emperor Caligula; it came to rest in its present position in 1586.

A description of St. Peter's, of the Vatican museums, galleries, and collections would be out of place in this outline of the City of the Popes; it suffices to recall that they are the chief glories of what Pius XI has called the "tiny territory" of his State.

On the right of the Piazza of St. Peter's and under the end of Bernini's colonnade is the entrance to the residential part of the Vatican, through the famous bronze doors which have been likened to

the frontiers of a kingdom, rather than the portals of a palace. Here the Swiss Guards are always on duty in their picturesque costume of motley red, blue and yellow, which it is said was designed by Michelangelo. The origin of this body-guard of the Popes goes back to Sixtus IV, who sent a mission in 1476 to Basle to arrange the alliance with the Swiss which was signed three years later. But the oak leaves on their steel morions would indicate that the first enlistment of Swiss Guards took place under Julius II (1503–1513), as oak leaves were the badge of his family, the della Rovere. This Pope invited the representatives of the Swiss cantons in 1503 to conclude a new alliance; this treaty provided for a permanent company of 200 Swiss to undertake service with the Pope. They arrived in Rome on January 22, 1506, as is recorded in the diary of Giovanni Burcardo. Their first captain was Gaspar von Silenen, the scion of a patrician family in the canton of Lucerne.

One of the most bloody episodes in the history of the Papacy was the pillage of Rome in 1527 by the Imperial troops under the Duke of Burgundy. During the fighting the Swiss Guards were exterminated, except forty-two men of the company who were on duty elsewhere. This was the occasion when Pope Clement VII took refuge in Castel Sant' Angelo by passing through the corridor connecting it with the Vatican, and when Benvenuto Cellini claimed to have slain the Constable of Bourbon. On June 7 Clement capitulated, and his faithful Swiss were replaced by *Landknechte*, who were more prison warders than defenders. Fifteen years later, in 1542, Paul III took 600 Swiss into his

service and distributed them in the barracks of Rome, Florence, Bologna, and Ancona. This body, however, was not the personal guard of the Pope. It was not until 1548 that the old guard was revived, when Paul III called 225 of the 600 about his person in a moment of anxiety caused by his relations with Charles V.

The heroism of the Swiss Guards during the sack of Rome is well known, but it is less generally known that they had their representatives at the battle of Lepanto in the following of Mark Anthony Colonna. Two Turkish standards are preserved in the Zürich National Museum which were taken from the enemy by the Swiss Captain Hans Rölli and his handful of soldiers. During the French invasion, when Pius VI was carried away a prisoner, the Swiss were dispersed. Pius VII reconstituted the Guards and assembled them about his person when he went in solemn procession to St. John Lateran on November 22, 1801. The command of this guard has been often handed on from father to son in the family of Pfyffer von Altishofen of Lucerne, from which the famous colonel was descended who rescued Charles IX from the Huguenots in the retreat on Meaux. At the present time the Guards number 200, as in the beginning, although at times they have been increased to 1,500 men; they are commanded by a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, a major, and two captains. The men are recruited from the Catholic population of several Swiss cantons.

The Noble Guard was founded by Pius VII in 1801, when he reorganised the Pontifical Court on his return from France, choosing young men

belonging to the families of the old Roman and Italian nobility for its ranks. It still preserves this exclusive character. It is now open to the members of foreign noble families. This *corps d'élite* defended Gregory XVI in 1831 against the revolutionaries, and later covered the flight of Pius IX to Gaeta. It also took part in the defence of the Porta Pia in 1870 and in the battle of Mentana. The duties of this corps consist of furnishing a guard of honour in the apartments of the Pontiff and in escorting him on ceremonial occasions.

The Palatine Guard of 300 men and officers is recruited from families of the Roman middle-class. It is not seen so often in the Vatican as the other two corps, but it lines the route of the pontifical processions in St. Peter's on the days of great functions.

The Papal *Gens d'Armes*, as the name implies, perform the police duties of the Vatican. They now number only one hundred men, Italians who have fulfilled their military obligations to the State. Formerly their duty was to police the Papal States. They took part in the battles of Castelfidardo, Mentana, and Monte Rotondo.

The private apartments of Pius XI are in the third story of that part of the Vatican overlooking the city towards the Pincian Hill and also the Piazza di S. Pietro. Here the Pope has his bedroom, his private chapel, library, and work-room. The magnificent suites of reception-rooms are below: the Hall of Pope Clement VIII, where the Swiss Guards mount a picket; the majestic Consistory Hall, where the Pope convenes the Sacred College

for deliberations, to deliver consistorial allocutions or, more often, for the creation of Cardinals. Here he bestows the red hats on the prelates raised to the purple, and here all Cardinals assemble at Christmas to offer their good-wishes to their spiritual head. The Consistory Hall leads to another *salon*, which gives access to the long suite of apartments where visitors are received by the chamberlains in black and the *sediari*, footmen, in liveries of red damask. There are no less than nine of these splendid rooms with walls enriched by tapestries or crimson silk to be passed through before the library is reached, where the Holy Father receives the privileged persons who are granted private audiences ; the first is the Hall of the Swiss, so called because the picturesque Swiss Guards are on service here day and night, the next is the Hall of the Angle, then comes that of the Arazzi, its walls covered by tapestries presented by Louis XVI. The Hall of the Noble Guards adjoins a private chapel of the Pope, where the Blessed Sacrament reposes. Beyond the Hall of the Noble Guards is the Throne Room, which is one of the largest and most sumptuous. The throne rises from a red velvet dais ; here the Pope receives the new Ambassadors or Ministers accredited to the Holy See. From here one passes through three other rooms to the *tronetto*, where sovereigns or persons of distinction are admitted to audience. A larger room contains the principal library for the private use of the Pope ; here he spends a great part of his day, receiving the Cardinal Secretary of State at nine o'clock, followed by other Cardinals and dignitaries until well after one o'clock. Every day the

Pope traverses this long suite of apartments. In that nearest to the library are one or two persons admitted for a short private conversation; in each one of the other rooms an ever-increasing throng awaits the Papal benediction, until the Hall of the Consistory is reached; here often the long lines of pilgrims reach into the great courtyard of San Damaso. To each pilgrim the Pontiff offers his ring to be kissed, often stopping to exchange a greeting or a paternal word with one or another. This scene is repeated every day to a greater or lesser degree.

The gardens of the Vatican, which alone have afforded the Popes the means of enjoying fresh air and exercise out of doors since the events of 1870, are extensive and planted with a variety of trees. Flowers, fountains, and antique statues lend them beauty and charm. Here is situated the observatory which has gained an enviable reputation in the scientific world. The carriages of Leo XIII, Pius X, and Benedict XV are rarely used in these days, for Pius XI, as befits a noted Alpinist, prefers to take his exercise on foot. The faithful Rinaldo Iacchini, the coachman who could boast of having driven five Popes during sixty-five years of service, is seen no more, but Pius XI never misses a day, rain or shine, to take his promenade with vigorous step along the paths and tree-lined roads, from where he may look away to the distant Alban hills or at the sunset on the Janiculum.

After the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty and Concordat by Cardinal Gasparri and Signor Mussolini on June 7 the frontiers of the little Vatican State were for the first time formally handed over to the guardianship of the famous Swiss

Felici

THE NOBLE GUARDS

Felici

THE PAPAL GENS D'ARMES

Guards. They saluted the almost equally picturesque Italian Carabinieri, who returned the salute and then marched away. The great *Portone di Bronzo*, the bronze doors which give access from the Piazza of St. Peter into the Vatican Palace, were thrown wide open at midday, after having been kept half closed since 1870.

The Piazza of St. Peter, although forming a part of Papal territory and always subject to Papal jurisdiction, has been confided to the care of the Italian authorities.

The Vatican City is not the only part of Rome that is recognised as being Papal territory. Most of the following palaces, churches, and institutions enjoy extraterritoriality equivalent to the privileges accorded under international law to embassies and legations: The Lateran Palace, Sant' Apollinare, Saint Mary Major, San Carlo Catinari, San Calisto, San Paolo fuori le Mura, Santi Dodici Apostoli, San Andrea della Valle, the Propaganda Fide, the Dataria, the Cancelleria, the Holy Office, the Convertendi, the Vicariato, the Lombard College, the Gregorian University, the Russian Seminary, the School of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and the Biblical, Archæological, and Oriental Institutes. These are widely dispersed throughout Rome. Those of them which do not enjoy extraterritorial privileges may not be expropriated without the express consent of the Holy See, and they are also exempt from taxation by the Italian authorities.

Chapter IX

THE PAPAL CASTLE OF GANDOLFO

IN these days a summer holiday at the sea or in the mountains is an annual *déplacement* which is denied to no class of society. For many years the Popes have been forced to find their recreation and bodily exercise in the limited area of the Vatican gardens; to a man who has loved the outdoor life, this restriction must have been very keenly felt by Pius XI. He will now be able to repair to his Castel Gandolfo in the romantic Alban mountains, which rise out of the Campagna but a few miles from Rome. No Pope since 1870 has set foot in this summer retreat.

Among other possessions of the Holy See which were put at the disposition of the Holy Father, if not recognised as the property of the Church, by the Law of Guarantees, was the domain of Castel Gandolfo. The Lateran accord restores this country seat unconditionally to its former owners. The charm of the Alban highlands, the salubrity and freshness of the climate, so easily accessible from their capital, drew the Popes irresistibly to their summer château from the heat of Rome. Since 1870 it has been used by the dignitaries of the Papal Court whom the Popes have wished to enjoy a *villeggiatura* denied to themselves.

Castel Gandolfo lies in a country of great beauty, and of the greatest historical interest, for it may be called the cradle of the Roman race. From the austere heights of Mount Alba the enthroned Jupiter looked down to the blue waters of the Alban lake, along whose banks a mighty procession

annually threaded its way to make sacrifice in his sanctuary on the mountain-side. Nearby, Alba Longa was for many years, before the founding of Rome, the capital of Latium. Both mountain and lake derive their names from *Albanus*, and were probably so called from their elevated situation above the plain, rather than from the legend of the white sow which Virgil relates was discovered there by Æneas (*Æneid*, iii, 390–392). It is a region so venerable in history and tradition that one is reluctant to put aside the legendary account that ascribed its origin to Ascanius, the son of Æneas, some three or four hundred years before the offspring of the God of War founded Rome, for the mythical history of the Romans has it that Romulus was an Alban, the son of Mars and the Vestal Silvia, a daughter of Numitor. Numitor was deprived of the Alban throne by his younger brother Amulius, who placed Silvia's twin sons, Romulus and Remus, in a trough and cast them into the Tiber. The trough came to rest in the marshy ground where Rome was later to arise. Livy's well-known story relates how the babes were suckled by a she-wolf and fed by a woodpecker. A pair of wolves is always kept in a cage by the side of the imposing stairway which leads up to the Capitoline hill in memory of this legend; the woodpecker, however, has not been honoured in a similar way.

When Alba Longa was destroyed by the Romans, under Tullus Hostilius, its inhabitants were removed to Rome. A number of the patrician families, such as the Julii, Curiatii, Servilii, and Quintii, ascribed their origin to these immigrants from

Alba. The cultus of Jupiter Latiaris, the god who protected the league of the thirty cities of Latium, was transplanted to Rome by the exiled Albans, where it must have thriven, for the Consuls celebrated the *Feriæ Latinæ* before setting out on their campaigns of war.

Castel Gandolfo is fifteen miles from Rome towards the south-east. Rather than reach it by train, let us follow one of the most famous roads in history, the *Via Appia Vecchia*—the ancient Appian Way—which leads from the Gate of St. Sebastian straight away to Albano, near the lake of that name on whose banks the castle of the Popes is situated. The Appian Way now runs a smooth course between the Roman tombs and the catacombs of the early Christians. It must have presented quite another picture not so many years ago. Dickens has left this description of its ruinous condition in his time :

"One day we walked out, a little party of three, to Albano, fourteen miles distant ; possessed by a great desire to go there by the Appian Way, long since ruined and overgrown. We started at half-past seven in the morning, and in an hour or so were out upon the open Campagna. For twelve miles we went climbing on, over an unbroken succession of mounds, and heaps, and hills, of ruin. Tombs, and temples, overthrown and prostrate ; small fragments of columns, friezes, pediments : great blocks of granite and marble ; mouldering arches, grass-grown and decayed ; ruin enough to build a spacious city from, lay strewn about us. Sometimes loose walls, built up from these fragments by the shepherds, came across our path : sometimes a ditch, between two mounds of broken stones, obstructed our progress ; sometimes the fragments themselves, rolling from beneath our feet, made it a toilsome matter to advance :

but it was always ruin. Now we tracked a piece of the old road above the ground ; now traced it underneath a grassy covering, as if it were its grave ; but all the way was ruin. In the distance, ruined aqueducts went stalking on their giant course along the plain ; and every breath of wind that swept towards us stirred early flowers and grasses, springing up spontaneously, on miles of ruin. The unseen larks above us, who alone disturbed the awful silence, had their nests in ruin ; and the fierce herdsmen, clad in sheep-skins, who now and then scowled upon us from their sleeping nooks, were housed in ruin. The aspect of the desolate Campagna in one direction, where it was most level, reminded me of an American prairie ; but what is the solitude of a region where men have never dwelt, to that of a desert where a mighty race have left their footprints in the earth from which they have vanished ; where the resting-places of their Dead have fallen like their Dead ; and the broken hour-glass of Time is but a heap of idle dust ! Returning by the road at sunset, and looking, from the distance, on the course we had taken in the morning, I almost felt as if the sun would never rise again, but look its last, that night, upon a ruined world."

The air of ruin that caused a chill to the heart of Dickens is no more ; true the great memorials of the past raise their crumbling, broken forms as in his day, but the Campagna is garnered and has an aspect of care and prosperity ; where he met but an occasional surly shepherd there is now a procession of eager sight-seers, in cars, on foot, and in great unwieldy motor-buses.

We find it difficult to share the opinion of the great English novelist that the impression the Campagna leaves is one of desolation. Curiously enough, it is in the works of French writers that one must look for an endorsement of what Dickens

felt; English writers usually speak of its beauty and charm. For us it is always an exquisite poem of soft tones and contours, a poem laughing, gracious and brilliant with the charms of nature, and mystic with the softened ruins of a great antiquity.

The hamlet of Le Frattocchie is passed, then on the left lies Bovillæ; both played parts in early Roman history. Here the road climbs gently up to Albano, and one turns to meet the view over the spreading Campagna to the walls of Rome, with Michelangelo's dome hanging above it as if suspended in the breathless sky.

Castel Gandolfo has a pleasant position on the Lake of Albano, in the midst of a country that lends itself generously to those in search of excursions to places of great beauty or historic interest. Its own history goes back to the twelfth century, when its lord was a Senator of Rome—one of the Gandolfi family. Clement VIII acquired it in 1604, but it did not become a Papal residence until Urban VIII made it his summer home in 1624; by that time it had been added to the temporal domain of the Holy See. Pius IX was very much attached to it and made it a rule to spend a part of every summer there until 1870. It was a common sight to see him riding about the country-side mounted on a white mule, whose sober steps a retinue of attendants on foot could comfortably keep pace with. Pius IX was already an old man in those days. The present Pope will welcome the chance to climb the Alban mountains, as an ardent Alpinist should.

Both the beautiful lakes of this district, Albano and Nemi, fill the cones of extinct volcanoes, and

both have artificial outlets. Archæologists are awaiting expectantly what the vanished waters of Nemi will disclose when the draining operations now under way are completed—whether the long submerged barges of the Emperor Caligula will yield the treasures hoped for. The beautiful bronze ornaments already recovered when attempts to raise the royal pleasure craft were made in 1895 and 1904 are warrant for expecting that important finds may be made when the 118 feet of water that hides them is drained away. The work is proceeding steadily, and already the shells of the barges have been partly uncovered. The objects that have been recovered are seventeen very fine ornaments in bronze of lion and wolves' heads, having rings passed through their mouths. Lead water-pipes bearing the epigraph of the Emperor Caligula were also brought to the surface.

The fact that Castel Gandolfo stands on the site of that capital of antiquity, Alba Longa, lends it great additional interest. Until recent times Alba Longa was thought to have occupied a position on the opposite side of the lake.

Chapter X

THE "PRISONER OF THE VATICAN"

PIUS IX

"HE is one whom to see is to love; one who overcomes even strangers, even enemies by his very look and voice; whose presence subdues, whose memory haunts, even the sturdy mind of the English Protestant. Such is he, and, great as he is in office and in his beneficent acts and virtuous life, as great as he is in the severity of his trials, in the complication of his duties, and in the gravity of his perils—perils which are at this moment closing him in on every side."

Cardinal Manning's loving tribute to Pius IX has been given elsewhere,[1] after the blow had fallen and that great Pope was suffering all the trials and hardships that followed on 1870 and the seizure of the Papal States; the above quotation is a tribute from another eminent English prelate, Cardinal Newman, written in 1866.

The affection and veneration that Pius IX inspired must be rare in history; those feelings may have been intensified by the tragedy which overtook him, but history can point to only a few great characters in her pages who were so loved in life and whose memory is so fragrant.

Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti was born at Sinigaglia, a little maritime village on the coast of the Adriatic, near Rimini, on May 13, 1792; he was the son of Count Girolamo Mastai-Ferretti, who had married Countess Catarina Vollazi.

He was ordained priest in 1819, and after a short

[1] *Vide* chapter on The Roman Question, 1796–1870.

LEO XIII, POPE 1878-1903

diplomatic career he first became director of the San Michele hospital in Rome, and then Bishop of Imola. Gregory XVI raised him to the purple in 1840. Pius IX was only fifty-four when he was chosen as the successor of Gregory XVI in the Conclave of 1846. The first acts of the Pope after his election delighted and reassured his subjects. On July 2 he went on foot in great humility and with a small suite to celebrate Mass at the little church of Santa Maria, not far from the Quirinal Palace. This simplicity charmed the impressionable Romans, and they flocked to accompany him on his return to his palace and to implore his benediction.

From the beginning Pius IX was disposed to inaugurate a policy of great liberality. On July 16 the Romans found their walls placarded with a decree of amnesty for all those who had been banished or imprisoned for political misdemeanours. The pardon was full and complete for all who would engage to perform their duties as good citizens in the future. Exiles were authorised to return if they made their request to do so within one year. All who had been deprived of their civil rights or against whom actions had been commenced were re-established as citizens or left in freedom. It is said that on the day of public rejoicing, the occasion of his elevation to the Papacy, Pius had been unable to repress a sentiment of sadness at the thought that many were prevented from taking part in the general joy, and that he then made up his mind to free all political prisoners and bring back the banished. The effect of these liberal tendencies and the proofs the Pope gave of his tenderness caused a wave of popular en-

thusiasm to sweep over Rome. A great crowd thronged the Piazza del Quirinale with flags and torches to acclaim the benefactor and to receive his blessing.

Among the reforms introduced very early in his pontificate was the creation of a State Council. Clerics were replaced by laymen in many offices that had formerly been held by ecclesiastics only. By introducing such a generous policy Pius soon became the idol of even the most "Liberal," and his popularity grew amazingly, so much so that the aged Prince Metternich wagged his head in disapproval; this veteran statesman remarked that: "We were prepared for everything except a Liberal Pope; now that we have one we can answer for nothing."

These peaceful early days of his pontificate were to be of short duration. The French Revolution of 1848 stimulated the revolutionary party in Italy. Pius fled to Gaeta a few days after the assassination of his Prime Minister, de Rossi. He returned to Rome in April 1850. His exile, as may be expected, did not encourage him to further experiments in a liberal policy.

In England a Catholic hierarchy was established soon after Pius IX returned to Rome. Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster, and twelve bishops composed this body. The opposition this occasioned in England soon calmed down. The Bull of 1854 proclaimed the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin to be a Dogma of the Church.

In December 1869 a Council of 764 prelates met at the Vatican from all parts of the world. The

infallibility of the Pope was made a dogma on July 18, 1870. At the present day it should be unnecessary to add that this doctrine does not claim that the Pope is impeccable, or that he is inspired; it simply means that, when speaking *ex cathedra* he defines a doctrine of faith or morals to be held by the whole Church, he is Divinely protected from teaching error.

By reason of the Franco-Prussian war the French troops were withdrawn from Rome. In July 1871 Victor Emmanuel II entered Rome and took possession of the capital.

Pius refused to acknowledge Victor Emmanuel II as King of Italy, to accept the Law of Guarantees or the three and a half million lire which the Italian Government offered him. He retired to the Vatican to become a prisoner until his death seven years later on February 7, 1878. His body is buried in the church of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura. His pontificate was longer than that of any other Pope, and he was the first to "reach the years of Peter."

LEO XIII

Gioacchino Vincenzo Luigi Pecci was born at Carpineto on March 2, 1810. Like Pius IX he was the scion of a noble Italian house. His father, Count Ludovico Pecci, descended from an ancestor who was forced to flee from his native Siena when the Medici partisans were driven from the old capital in the sixteenth century. His mother's family, the Prosperi, claimed the illustrious Rienzi as an ancestor.

Ordained priest in 1837, the future Pope followed

in the footsteps of Pius IX by filling a diplomatic mission at Brussels after he had been made titular Bishop of Damiette. In 1845 he became Bishop of Perugia and was raised to the Cardinalate in 1853 by Pius IX. He returned to Rome in September 1877 to take up the office of Cardinal Camerlengo, was elected Pope in the Conclave of February 20, 1878, and crowned on March 3, one day after his sixty-ninth birthday.

The important and effective encyclicals of Leo XIII were mostly devoted to ethical and political problems. The Encyclical, *Inscrutabili Dei*, which was the first to appear in his pontificate, revealed his desire for an understanding between Church and State, and for good relations with all foreign Powers. In spite of the many difficulties raised by the anti-clerical party in France, Leo formally recognised the new French Republic.

Leo XIII possessed the diplomatic sense, and, while firm in his course to secure an end which he considered just, his wisdom and prudence led him to exercise moderation in his dealing with others. In the first decade of his pontificate he was able to create more satisfactory foreign relations than had existed during the many years disturbed by revolutions and political upheavals. The Pope was ably seconded by his Cardinal Secretaries of State: Franchi (1878), Jacobini and Simeoni (1878–1887), and Rampolla (1887 until the death of the Pope).

The relations with France were disturbed by the harshness of the measures adopted by the anti-clerical government of that country against the religious Orders, of which many were banished

and their property confiscated. Numbers of these Orders were able to establish themselves happily in Protestant England.

The *Kulturkampf* in Germany reacted on the relations between the new Empire that was formed out of the many German States, great and small. In his letter to William I, notifying his election, Leo hoped that " the noble-mindedness of the Emperor would reinstate the consciences of his Catholic subjects in calmness and peace. . . . We beg the Lord to unite Your Majesty and Us in the bonds of complete Christian love." Such a letter deserved a better reply than the ill-bred one of thanks in which the German Emperor hoped that the Pope would aid the clergy to recognise the supreme power of the State. The Pope answered that he could only do this when certain Prussian laws were altered. The oppressive laws against Catholics in Germany, like the *Kulturkampf* inaugurated by Bismarck, were intended to win the applause of the Liberals. When, however, the Iron Chancellor found himself out of favour with the Liberals, he turned to the *Centrum*, the powerful Catholic Party, for support. Diplomatic relations were re-established by sending a Prussian Minister Plenipotentiary to the Vatican in 1882. In 1885 Bismarck requested the Pope to settle the dispute between Germany and Spain arising out of territorial proprietary rights in the Caroline Islands. The Pontiff succeeded by his mediation in satisfying both parties to the controversy.

Leo XIII ever had in his thoughts the idea of peace with his Fatherland; this yearning he made plain in his Allocution to the Cardinals of May 23,

1887. A picture presented itself to his mind of an Italian national unity that would embrace the independence of the Holy See—the King to take all Italy, but to leave to the Popes their ancient capital and a small surrounding territory. Negotiations were actually commenced with the Prime Minister, Crispi, but the efforts of anti-Catholic liberalism and radicalism to put every possible obstacle in the way of an agreement with the Church were successful; the negotiations led nowhere.

From 1890 on the relations between the Vatican and Quirinal intensified in bitterness. The Pope complained unceasingly of the "enemy government." Great events at the Vatican and great happenings at the Quirinal were ignored one by the other. The death of King Humbert was ignored by the Holy See, just as the great Jubilee years 1888, 1893, and 1903 were ignored by the Italian Government.

Leo XIII belongs to the "Great Popes." Twenty years before his death it could be said that the moral authority of the Holy See had never been greater in any period of the world's history. He not only guided the ship of the Church safely past the sunken reefs of difficult times, he also raised the Papacy's influence and authority to imposing heights, in spite of the loss of its worldly dominion, and directed it towards modern ideals and conceptions.

The world looked to him with a veneration that found its expression on his golden jubilees as priest and bishop in 1888 and 1893, and on his silver jubilee as Pope in 1903. He was ninety-three

when he died on July 20, 1903. His tomb is in the cathedral church of St. John Lateran.

PIUS X

Giuseppe Melchiorre Sarto was born of a poor, working-class family in Riese, a pleasant village between Vicenza and Treviso in the lowlands of upper Italy. The date of his birth was June 2, 1835. He was ordained in the Cathedral of Castelfranco on September 18, 1858. Made Bishop of Mantua in 1884, he remained there until he was created a Cardinal in June 1893 and made Patriarch of Venice. Pius X was worshipped by his beloved Venetians—his lovable disposition, kindliness, and great charity won their devoted affection; the contact between him and his flock in the city of the Doges was in reality that of a father and his children.

On his becoming Cardinal-Patriarch of Venice the government withheld his Exequatur and prevented him from receiving his stipend; this action was taken by the Italian Government because it claimed the right of nomination. An opportune visit of King Humbert I led to a meeting at which Cardinal Sarto pointed out how disadvantageous the situation was for both himself and the State. Humbert was delighted with the prelate, and in due course the Exequatur was granted. The relations of the Pope with the authorities, although reserved, were always excellent.

In spite of his comparatively large income and his extraordinarily modest manner of living, Cardinal Sarto never had a penny. All went in good works

and charity. Maestro Perosi said of him when he was elected Pope: "He would give away the Vatican if he could."

When he left Venice to attend the Conclave that elected him Pope, all the people of the city crowded to bid him God speed. He was chosen to succeed Leo XIII on August 4, 1903. His heart must have been as heavy to leave his cherished Patriarchate as his disconsolate children there were to lose him. The touching story of his two old peasant sisters who came to Rome to live near their Sovereign brother after his election is well known.

Pius X performed the Italian State a service in 1905 when he withdrew the prohibition that Italian Catholics were to take no part in the general elections; he took this step to safeguard the country from being swamped by the Socialist vote. His principal care was the reform of the internal concerns of the Church and its government. He has been compared with Leo XIII in this respect, but he was more the Pope "of theology and canonical law, the Pope of the humble, the poor, and the clergy."

Like Leo XIII he frequently raised his voice to urge more general study of the Bible. His Apostolic Letter, *Quoniam in re biblica*, of March 27, 1906, emphasised the importance of Bible study for the theology of our day, and presented eighteen Articles containing instructions for the study of the Scriptures in Seminaries and Universities. In May 1909 he founded the Papal Bible Institute. Religious teaching was also from the beginning one of the principal preoccupations of Pius X. In the Encyclical, *Acerbo nimis*, of April 15, 1905,

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PIUS X, POPE 1903–1914

he declared teaching to be the first duty of the priesthood, and gave six rules for the instruction of youth, their preparation for the Sacraments, and for the creation of a Congregation of Christian Teaching in each parish.

The harsh treatment of the religious Orders in France caused the Pope great distress. He protested in his Allocution of March 18, 1904, and in that of March 27, 1905, against these measures and the proposed law for the separation of Church and State in France, which he characterised as a misfortune for that country. Because of the incidents arising out of President Loubet's visit to the King of Italy in Rome, diplomatic relations were broken off between the Vatican and Paris and the Separation Law was passed on December 9.

Relations between the two Romes were undoubtedly growing better until they were besmirched by a speech of the Mayor of Rome at a banquet held on September 20, 1910, to celebrate the taking of Rome. The Pope answered with a letter to the Cardinal-Vicar calling on the faithful to offer up ardent prayers to the Almighty that he would protect his bride, the Church, which was being derided in such an unworthy manner by more and more poisonous slanders, and by more and more violent attacks directed against her with impunity by her enemies.

Pius X had long seen the looming clouds of war. "*La guerra che viene*" was an oft-repeated expression in his conversations; nevertheless, its declaration was a great shock to him, to his health as well as to his tender love for mankind. In the Apostolic Letter of August 2, 1914, which he

addressed to all the Catholics of the globe immediately after the hostilities began, he gave his sorrow words and summoned all hearts to Christ, the Prince of Peace and almighty mediator between God and man. He said to a visitor at about this time that he would gladly give his own life if thereby he could purchase the peace of Europe.

The good Pope died on August 14, 1914, only a fortnight after the rumbling of all Europe under arms was heard. His doctor declared that he had never seen anyone so transfigured pass from the world.

It may be too much to assert that Pius X was one of the first victims of the world war, but there were many incidents in those few days that he was left to see of August 1914 which must have contributed directly to his sudden death: the indifferent reception his efforts for peace met with at the hands of the belligerents; the painful farewell receptions for the ecclesiastics in Rome—most of them young students at the seminaries maintained by foreign Catholics—who had been called upon by their fatherlands to take up arms and go to the front. On the same day the Pope saw the two groups of soldiers in the Army of Christ who were to become enemies in the armies of men! One group was received in the morning and the other in the evening. The strain of seeing for the last time so many who were fated to lay down their lives on the battlefields of hate was a terrible ordeal for their spiritual father. That evening it was obvious that the strain had been too great; Pius had to retire early to the bed from which he was so soon to be carried into

the crypt below the high altar of St. Peter's. There his mortal remains now rest in the sanctity which radiates from the tomb of Peter.

A story was long circulated in Rome that the Pope had died from the shock of having an autograph letter which he had written to Francis Joseph of Austria ignored—or even that the aged Emperor had refused to receive the Papal Nuncio who was its bearer. It is said that Pius X wrote this letter after the Austrian Government had sent its harsh ultimatum to Belgrade, that in it he implored Francis Joseph to avert the calamity that threatened the world. The story goes that when the Pope heard of the refusal of the Austrian Emperor to receive his diplomatic representative he had a severe heart attack and was carried in a collapsed condition to the bed from which he never rose. This story is quite untrue, and has been denied by personages in Rome whose authority cannot be impeached. M. Jean Carrère, who has written a book[1] giving many interesting reflections on the Roman Question, has been at pains to ascertain the truth of this story from Monsignor Pucci, one of the most distinguished men of letters who now shed a lustre on Catholic literature. Mgr. Pucci informed the French writer that this sensational story was not confirmed in high places. The denials made to the writer of these lines have been even more emphatic in "high places."

In his last will the humility and simplicity that had been so characteristic of his life were given their final expression. Pius X directed that he did not wish his body to be embalmed or to have a

[1] Carrère, *The Pope*, London (no date).

splendid tomb; he added: "Poor was I born, poor I have lived, and poor will I die." His wishes have been strictly carried out; his is no gorgeous tomb such as rise above the dust of so many Popes in St. Peter's and elsewhere; a massive, but perfectly plain marble sarcophagus holds his body. He was true to his convictions until the end. He never had an enemy, his noble qualities won the love of all, and if his pontificate does not deserve to be accounted one of the great ones of history, at least it was a marked one because of the beautiful character of the man, and because of his influence for good in the Church and outside of it.

If the cause of any Pope who is not already numbered among the saints is to receive recognition through canonisation, our firm belief is that that Pope will be Pius X.

BENEDICT XV

On September 3, 1914, Cardinal della Volpe announced in St. Peter's that the Conclave had chosen Giacomo della Chiesa, who had taken the name of Benedict XV. The new Pope was born on November 21, 1854, at Genoa, of the ancient line of the Marquesses of della Chiesa. He first studied law in Genoa, then theology in Rome, and was ordained priest on December 21, 1878.

Like so many Popes of modern times, he gained experience of foreign affairs in the Papal diplomatic service, Leo XIII sending him to the Nunciature at Madrid, where he served under Cardinal Rampolla, who was later to become

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BENEDICT XV, POPE 1914–1922

Secretary of State to Leo XIII. The young diplomatist impressed Cardinal Rampolla so favourably by his industry and as possessing rare diplomatic talent that he called him to the office of *Minutante* (Prelate in charge of the correspondence and reports of the General Congregation) when he himself became Cardinal Secretary of State, and also made him his personal Chief of Cabinet. In 1901 he became Under Secretary of State and Cardinal Rampolla's right hand. Upon Cardinal Merry del Val being selected by Pius X as Secretary of State, Mgr. della Chiesa retained his office until he was sent to Bologna as Cardinal-Archbishop of that diocese.

Benedict XV named Cardinal Ferrata to be his Secretary of State. Cardinal Ferrata died on October 10, 1914, and was succeeded by Cardinal Gasparri, the present holder of the high office and signer of the Lateran Peace.

The new Pope commenced at once to use his efforts to incline the world to peace. Two days after his coronation he made his first appeal "to the faithful of the entire world." In November he issued his Letter, *Ad beatissimi*, to the Bishops, in which he placed the guilt for the world-confusion upon the lust for worldly goods and the contempt for the law, which resulted in the brutalisation of morals, weakening of love, and disregard of authority. He exhorted the clergy to unite in an effort to stifle the war and its consequences by again bringing Christianity's influence to bear to summon order and peace. At Christmastide and in January 1915 the Pope once more called the world to return to peace through love. He ordered

the solemn prayers on February 21 and March 21 of the Catholics of all the world for peace, and composed the Prayer for Peace which was to become so widespread. In his Allocution he emphasised the difficulty of his position, but admonished all to act in accordance with justice, invading armies to be careful to protect the property of others, and residents in occupied territory to observe prudence.

The catalogue is too long to give here of the untiring appeals that the sorely-tried Benedict made throughout the dark days of the war. His appeals fell on barren soil.

Benedict observed the strictest neutrality throughout the hostilities. This was a duty which he, as the spiritual head of the Catholics who were engaged on both sides in the war, could not and would not neglect. As far as lay in his power he endeavoured to hasten the end of the war; he was often misunderstood because the secret workings of courts and camps were unknown to the world at large, while every action that he took, or failed to take, was given the greatest publicity, when, for instance, the Vatican was silent about the peace proposals in December 1916 of the Central Powers, who begged the Holy See to give their desire its support. This silence had its reason, although it was not made known at the time. It received its explanation in a letter from the Cardinal Secretary of State to Cardinal von Hartmann of March 7, 1917. England had caused the Holy See to understand that any peace proposals at that time by the Holy Father would be resented by England and France; hence it would not only have been futile

for the Pope to take any action then, but it might also have weakened his position in regard to any future proposals that he could put forward. His repeated suggestions for a peace solution during the summer and autumn of 1917 were vain.

If his peace overtures were doomed to failure, his humanitarian and charitable activities were overwhelmingly successful. They were world-wide, impartial, and tireless. His plea for an armistice on Christmas Day 1914 failed, owing to the opposition of the Russians, but his proposal for the exchange of disabled prisoners of war resulted in the home-coming of thousands of combatants who could be of no further military use. In the same way by his efforts 12,376 French, 8,594 German, 1,822 Belgian, and 964 English prisoners suffering from tuberculosis or wounds were interned in Switzerland between the end of January 1916 and November 17, 1917. Many other humane activities were carried on through the Vatican. Of 800,000 missing soldiers 200,000 were traced by this agency; 15,000,000 books and magazines were sent to Vladivostok, the Falkland Islands, and other remote places for the use of soldiers and prisoners. He distributed great sums of money to alleviate suffering in those countries most sorely tried by the war, especially to bring health to children.

The international position of the Holy See became even more important under Benedict. A number of countries have sent diplomatic representatives to the Vatican since 1914 which were not so represented before. Holland's Prime Minister justified the appointment of a Dutch Minister by declaring that: "There is no more

important diplomatic centre for the exercise of influence to bring about peace than the Vatican. The Pope is one of the Great Powers; his influence to bring peace to a suffering mankind as soon as possible cannot be over-estimated."

Among the new nations to send Ministers to the Holy See are: Finland, Poland, Lettland, and Czechoslovakia. Japan has sent a Minister and France has again an Ambassador. Of all the Great Powers only the United States holds aloof.

In 1919 the old story of negotiations between the Holy See and the Italian Government which were to bear no fruit was repeated. During the Peace Conference at Versailles, Mgr. Kelly, now Bishop of Oklahoma, U.S.A., was instrumental in bringing about conversations between Mgr. Ceretti and Signor Orlando that promised well for an understanding. Agreement was reached on a number of important points, including, it is understood, a possible guarantee of Papal independence by the League of Nations, which had just come into existence. The negotiations were broken off owing to the fall of Signor Orlando's Government.

Benedict XV withdrew the Papal prohibition on the visits of Catholic rulers to the King of Italy in Rome. In his Encyclical, *Pacem*, dated May 23, 1920, in which these visits were authorised, the Pope re-asserted the protests of all the Popes since 1870 to their rights in these words:

"We most solemnly declare that . . . Our attitude, advised, it seems to Us, and even demanded by the excessive gravity of the present time, should never be interpreted as a tacit abdication by the Holy See of its sacred rights, as if it had at last accepted the abnormal situation which is

at present forced upon it. On the contrary, We seize this opportunity to reiterate, on Our own behalf and for the same motives, the protestations raised on several occasions by Our predecessors, actuated as they were, not by human reasons, but by a sacred duty."

Benedict XV's abnormally difficult rôle during the war—to be father to all and partial to none—has gained sympathetic recognition everywhere; it does not require great imagination to picture his difficulties and the delicacy of his position in relation to the belligerents as a whole or only insomuch as they concerned Italy alone.

Great in charity for his fellow-men, great apostle of peace, Benedict XV offered his soul to his Master with his last words: "We will give up our life to God for the peace of the world." He died on January 22, 1922. He had made the fight as best he could against the brutal forces that held Europe in a gauntlet of steel for four long years. The war is past, the Pope is gone, the gauntlet holds no reeking sword for the moment; in its place has come an armistice, followed—for how many years we have yet to see—by a stifling cloud of suspicion out of which the erstwhile belligerents eye ancient enemy and ally alike askance, licking their wounds the while.

PIUS XI

Ten miles northwards from Milan in the vast Lombardian plain lies the little village of Desio, where Pius XI was born on May 31, 1857. From this green carpet of a country, stretching and rolling away gently like sleepy waves of the sea, came those Lombard hordes that were so long a scourge for the

flesh of Rome and the Church from the sixth to the eighth centuries. To-day the aspect of the country-side is peaceful enough: plantations of fruit-trees, pastures, and market-gardens cover the immensity of the prairie, with here and there a low-roofed, snuggling village betrayed by its white, two-storied campanile, which is the classic form of church-tower in this region of northern Italy.

Desio borders the main route between Milan and Lugano—a slender white riband of dust and sun with a jewel at each end, one the lovely blue lake with embracing hills of green, the other the frozen lace of Milan's wondrous cathedral. The aspect of Desio, like so many Italian villages, is more that of an outlying quarter of a city than a country hamlet; if the typical village features are wanting, neither does it droop with the squalid physiognomy common to the suburban fringes of so many great cities.

Trade languishes in the Pope's native place, except for some silk- and linen-spinning mills which continue to stir up a certain activity among the rural population. It was one of these mills which attracted Francesco Ratti, Pius XI's father, from Alta Brianza in 1850 to Desio to become its manager.

The house in which Achille Ratti was born rises from the public square, where on market days merchants and peasants spread out their wares; it stands somewhat withdrawn from the *piazza* beside the church with its eighteenth-century façade. The house is of considerable size, for it was once factory and dwelling combined. The father of the Pope is remembered as a sincerely pious, simple, and methodical man. By his marriage

with Teresa Galli he found an affectionate and worthy helpmate; for their children she was a mother worthy of her illustrious son.

The room where the Pope was born has been converted into a chapel; above the altar is the image of Achilleus, saint and martyr. The childhood of little Achille Ratti was influenced by the proximity of the church, the frugal and healthy life in an atmosphere of unremitting toil, and the instruction of a good priest. At that time there was no communal school in Desio, but for forty-three years the village priest, Father Giuseppe Volontieri, held classes for the children of the countryside in his presbytery, and there the child received his first lessons. His holidays were spent with an uncle, Father Damiano Ratti, parish priest of Asso, a man of great virtue, who has left a reputation of sanctity in the Province of Milan; such were the influences first brought to bear in moulding the character of the future Pope.

Then followed the years of study, first at Milan and Monza, then at the college of San Carlo in Milan, which took him away from Desio. The Oblates of St. Charles, under whose direction he continued his preparation for the priesthood before going to Rome, were founded by the famous Cardinal Borroméo; their college in Milan has as its near neighbour the old monastery of the Dominicans, whose refectory was glorified by Leonardo's Last Supper, the goal of every tourist after he has gazed spell-bound at the enchanted cathedral—carved, wrought, and coaxed into a marvel of tracery and ornamentation like a masterpiece from the magic fingers of Benvenuto Cellini. The church of Santa

Maria delle Gracie formerly belonged to the monastery; its dome was built by Bramante, one of the creators of the Vatican.

Achille Ratti was to become in due time a member of the Order of Oblates, and many of his hours of recreation were passed under their familiar roof after he became the guardian of the Ambrosian Library. His confrères who are now there are always proud to show the rooms in their old college that have associations with the Pope. There have been changes since his day, but his class-room remains as it was in his student years of 1874–1875. This room must have been designed for other purposes than unromantic philosophical studies, for its walls are brightened by paintings in the Pompeian manner surrounded by carved-wood ornamentations. The room formed a part of an old palace.

A spirit such as young Achille possessed—contemplative and serious—would instinctively turn towards the ecclesiastical life. His great appetite for study and his precocious gravity did not escape the notice of Monsignor de Calabiana, Archbishop of Milan, who loved to call him playfully "My young ancient." After three years of theology at Milan the young student was sent by the Archbishop to Rome to complete his studies at the Lombardian and Gregorian Colleges. He was ordained on December 20, 1879, and the next day celebrated his first Mass at the church of San Carlo al Corso. The Pope was a student for three years in Rome; after being ordained he passed his examinations as Doctor of Canon Law, Doctor of Philosophy, and Doctor of Theology.

One of the most picturesque sights in the noisy,

bustling streets of Rome is due to the little processions of ecclesiastical students walking two abreast in the hurried manner peculiar to themselves; they seem always gay and animated. Their dress in most cases has some distinctive sign by which their country, or their Order, may be recognised, usually the facings of their sombre gowns, their coloured girdles, or sometimes by a strikingly different habit, such as the brilliant all-scarlet of the German students or the white and black of the Dominicans.

Colleges are maintained at Rome for the ecclesiastical students of almost every country. The name *seminario* is applied to them occasionally, as *Seminario Romano* (St. Apollinare), but the majority of these institutions, and those especially which have a national character, are known as "colleges." Of the training of priests in general it suffices here to note that the Roman colleges, in addition to the obvious advantages for study which Rome offers, also serve in a certain measure to keep up in the various countries of the world that spirit of loyal attachment to the Holy See which is the basis of unity. With this end in view the Popes have encouraged the founding of colleges in which young men of the same nationality might reside and at the same time profit by the opportunities which the city affords. The colleges thus established are halls of residence, in which the students follow the usual seminary exercises of piety, study in private, and review of the subjects treated in class. In some colleges there are special courses of instruction (languages, music, archæology, etc.), but the regular courses in philosophy and theology are given in a

few large central institutions, such as the Propaganda, the Gregorian University, Lateran, and the Minerva—the school of the Dominicans. The Roman colleges are thus grouped in several clusters, each of which includes a centre for purposes of instruction and a number of affiliated institutions. Each college has at its head a rector designated by the country to which the college belongs and appointed by the Pope. The students are divided into groups, each in charge of a prefect, who is responsible for the observance of the rule. Each group—*camerata*—occupies its own section of the college building, has its own quarters for recreation, and goes its own way about the city on the daily walk prescribed by the regulations. Frequently they are to be seen carrying footballs on their way to some open space where they can enjoy more vigorous exercise. When outside their colleges the students wear low-crowned clerical hats and the gown or *soprana*.

The course of studies extends usually through six years, two of which are devoted to philosophy and four to theology. To philosophy in the stricter sense are added courses in mathematics, languages, and natural sciences.

Each college spends the summer vacation at its *villeggiatura*, or country house, located outside the city and generally in or near one of the numerous towns on the slopes of the neighbouring hills. Student life in the " villa " is quite similar to the routine of the academic year in regard to discipline and religious exercises ; but a larger allowance is made for recreation and for occasional trips through the surrounding country. What has been said

outlines fairly well the work of the Roman colleges. In matters of detail some variations will be found, and these are due chiefly to natural characteristics or to the special purpose for which the college was established.[1]

What emotion must surge in the breasts of these fervent youths when they first tread the stones of the capital of the Christian world! One can picture the first contact of their eager eyes and minds with the life of the city of which they have read and dreamed. What excursions to make! to the catacombs where the first Christians hid their Faith from the Roman persecutor; to the basilicas and churches, in seventy or more of which repose the bodies or relics of saints and martyrs. Rome, where every stone, every brick, is a milestone in the history of their Church. One such young *dévote* arrived in Rome in the autumn of 1879. Did some hidden, mysterious voice bid him then to prepare himself, to store up learning, wisdom, and holiness against the day when he was destined to receive the burden of the triple tiara?

In the summer of 1882 Father Ratti returned to Milan on the completion of his studies in Rome to become a professor at the seminary. The ecclesiastical students who were his disciples at this time recall his knowledge, the extreme care with which he prepared his lectures, his courtesy and his exquisite manners. They mention his "artistic taste and his choice of models of religious eloquence, his preference for ancient sources which he illumined with the aid of his erudite commen-

[1] *The Catholic Encyclopædia.*

taries. Therefore, no one was surprised when after five years he was called from his professorship of theology to the famous Ambrosian Library of Milan."

The Ambrosian ranks among the first five great libraries of the world. Like the Vatican Library, the British Museum, the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris, and the *Hof Bibliotek* of Vienna, its reputation is world-wide. Its name is indissolubly connected with one of the most learned and holy men of the Church during the last decades of the Renaissance, Cardinal Frederick Borroméo, cousin of St. Charles Borroméo. This prelate founded the library in 1609. Here Achille Ratti for twenty-six years fulfilled his duties of Assistant Librarian and later (1907) Prefect with his whole soul and with the ardour of a man who is conscious of accomplishing a veritable mission ; here he consecrated his learning to some purpose in a literary output covering a wide range of subjects : historical studies, hagiography, biography, political and artistic studies, studies of mediæval literature, and archæology.

Dr. Ratti was appointed Assistant Prefect of the Vatican Library in 1910, and divided his time between it and the Ambrosian until 1914, when he became Prefect (Librarian) at the Vatican. He held this important post until 1918 ; during that time he published many works based on the treasures of manuscripts which that great library counts by tens of thousands.

The year 1918 saw him charged with a diplomatic mission to Poland. In March 1919 he recognised the *de jure* government of the new Polish State in the name of the Holy See, and in July he was ap-

pointed Nuncio and raised to the dignity of Bishop of Lepanto. Two years later (June 1921) he was created a Cardinal and given the archbishopric of Milan. When Benedict XV handed him his red biretta he made him a long speech in which he extolled the new Cardinal's skill as a diplomatist. They were not empty words, for in little more than seven years the great problem of the Church and of Italy was solved and the Law of Guarantees —that vain law of revolutionary times—put away to gather the dust of obliquity.

We have related elsewhere the solemn scene in the Sistine Chapel when Pius XI made his vow to dedicate his pontificate to the works of peace. Has any sovereign ever more faithfully fulfilled his vow ?

Those who have been honoured by being received in private audience by the Holy Father must be impressed above all by the dignity, the gentleness, and the benignity of his presence. We were conducted to one of the smaller rooms beyond the Throne Room, where we were to have the rare privilege of meeting the man whose name has been in every mouth since the Treaty of the Lateran was signed.

Pius XI has the air of health and vigour that one associates with the outdoor life, in spite of the seven years that he has passed in the restricted limits of the Vatican. He is robust, broad-shouldered, his head is cast in the massive mould of the thinker, his profile is as clear-cut as an exquisite coin. His lips seem to hide a lurking smile of kindliness and sympathy. His manner is marked by the restraint and gravity that are inseparable

from his great office of Vicar of Christ on earth. He listens attentively and with unruffled patience. He chooses his words carefully and thoughtfully; when the conversation turns to literature and books, the eagerness of the student, of the *savant* who has spent his life largely in libraries and in research, breaks through the almost habitual calm reserve, the serene nobility of his expression relaxes into animation.

Cardinal Lualdi, who has been a friend of Pius XI since their boyhood, has painted this pen-picture of him:

"Two words describe him: order and calmness. All his life has been dominated by rule: his breviary, his meditation, his rosary, the occupations of his charge . . . and then duty. No one, for example, is more ready to establish and cultivate the ties of friendship, but they must be subordinated to the obligations of his functions. He receives a deluge of letters; he replies to all of them, but to each in its turn, he arranges them in order, just as he arranged the manuscripts in his library, placing the most urgent on top. In his free moments he decides upon the replies to a determined number of proposals; others less urgent must wait until to-morrow, the day after to-morrow or until it is possible to give them his attention. Nevertheless, the turn of each is sure to come."

Pius XI knows full well how difficult it is for those who govern to learn the truth; therefore he is unremitting in his efforts to get the opinions and advice of others, and then to give the whole his anxious consideration.

His disposition predisposes the Pope to government. Nature has endowed him with qualities

which years of Divine grace have developed to the highest point of perfection. In him one can admire the constant equilibrium of all his faculties, the fruit of the unalterable discipline of his thoughts, of the restraint of his words, and the moderation of his spirit. This explains that which is singular in the exterior life of the Pontiff; that is to say, that he, the man of the Church and the man immersed in studies, the man of diplomacy, has never provoked any sentiments of jealousy or resentment wherever his duties have called him; on the contrary he has left behind him everywhere an undisputed consideration, a unanimous respect, and a veneration that has augmented from year to year, and all this in spite of the fact that he has lived in times that have been agitated, and in the midst of passionate and violent philosophical, political, and religious conflicts.

The profound study of history which has occupied him so much was not undertaken from vain motives of erudition, but as the means of fitting him for the high missions which it has been his destiny to fulfil. The study of history has confirmed him above all in the certain belief that Providence directs the ends of humanity and shapes them according to its own ineffable designs.

It must not be thought, however, that he sees the present exclusively in the light of the past or through some species of mysticism which tends to obscure the realities that actually exist. The personal contact he has had for many years with men of every class, and in totally different surroundings, has given him an exact and profound knowledge of the contemporary epoch, as well of its intellectual

and moral distortions as of its noble aspirations and its progress. His belief that religion has been the principal factor in our civilisation is far from making him regard human conquests with a defiant eye. Pius XI is essentially a modern Pope.

All those who saw him on the day of his election carried away the impression of a man calm and imperturbable, of radiant and pious joy, not of one overwhelmed and disturbed by the grandeur of his position.[1]

Pius XI has the secret of making himself greatly loved, without ever abandoning any of the marks of homage due to his rank, without ever abandoning that reserve in words and of manner which is his habit. One cannot enter into his presence without experiencing a profound emotion, so deep are the feelings of reverence and devotion he inspires. Such is Pius XI.

[1] Novelli, *Pio XI*, Rome, 1923.

PLAN OF THE VATICAN CITY

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

TEXT OF THE TREATY BETWEEN ITALY AND THE HOLY SEE

IN the Name of the Most Holy Trinity :

Whereas, The Holy See and Italy have recognised the necessity of eliminating every reason for difference existing between them, to come to a definite arrangement of their reciprocal relations, which confirms to the justice and to the dignity of the two high parties, and assuring to the Holy See in a stable way the condition of fact and of right which guarantees absolute independence in fulfilment of its high mission to the world, and by which the Holy See consents to recognise the Roman Question raised in 1870 with the assigning of Rome to the Kingdom of Italy under the dynasty of the House of Savoy as settled in an irrevocable manner ;

Whereas, owing to the necessity to assure absolute visible independence to the Holy See in order to guarantee it indisputable sovereignty also in the international field, it is deemed necessary to constitute Vatican City with special dispositions, recognising its full property rights, with exclusive and absolute power and sovereign jurisdiction over it to the Holy See ; His Holiness, the Supreme Pontiff, Pius XI, and His Majesty, Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy, have resolved to stipulate a treaty, nominating two plenipotentiaries for this purpose, namely, on the part of His Holiness, his Most Reverend Eminence Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, his Secretary of State, and on the part of his Majesty, Signor Cavaliere Benito Mussolini, President of the Cabinet, and chief of the Government, who, having exchanged their respective credentials, found the same good and in due form, have agreed to the following articles :

Article I

Italy recognises and reaffirms the principle set forth in Article I of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Italy of

4 March 1848, whereby the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion is the sole religion of the State.

Article II

Italy recognises the sovereignty of the Holy See in the international field as an inherent attribute of its nature, in conformity with its tradition and the exigencies of its mission in the world.

Article III

Italy recognises full possession and exclusive and absolute power and sovereign jurisdiction of the Holy See over the Vatican, as at present constituted, with all its appurtenances and endowments, creating Vatican City for such purpose with its special aims in connection with the present treaty. The confines of said Vatican City are indicated on a plan which constitutes the first annex to the present treaty, and of which it forms an integral part. It is agreed, however, that St. Peter's Square, also forming a part of Vatican City, will continue ordinarily to be open to the public and subject to the police powers of Italian authority, which authority will cease at the foot of the steps leading into the basilica, although the latter will continue to be devoted to public worship. The police will abstain, therefore, from ascending the steps or approaching the basilica, except in case they should be invited to do so by competent authorities. When the Holy See, in expectation of a special ceremony, will deem it opportune to withdraw St. Peter's Square from free public transit, the Italian authorities, unless invited by competent authorities to remain, will retire beyond the external lines of the Bernini colonnade and its prolongation.

Article IV

The sovereignty and exclusive jurisdiction which Italy recognises to the Holy See implies that there cannot be any interference whatsoever on the part of the Italian Government, and that within Vatican City there will be no other authority than the Holy See.

Article V

For the execution of that which is established in the preceding article, before the present treaty goes into effect, the territory constituting Vatican City must be made free from all liens or any eventual tenants by the Italian Government. The Holy See will provide for closing the approaches by enclosing the open part except St. Peter's Square. It is, however, agreed that regarding real estate therein belonging to religious institutions or organisations, the Holy See will arrange directly to regulate its relations with these, the Italian State being disinterested.

Article VI

Italy undertakes to furnish through agreement with interested organisations assurance to Vatican City of an adequate supply of water within the territory. It will also provide for communication with Italian State railroads by constructing a railroad station within Vatican City at a location marked on the annexed plan, as well as for the movement of the Vatican's coaches on Italian railroads. It will also provide direct connection of telephone services, telegraphs, radio telephones, radio and postal telegraph with other States to Vatican City. It will, besides, provide for co-ordination of other public services. The Italian State will furnish the above at its own expense within one year from the date the present treaty goes into effect. The Holy See will arrange at its own expense for systematising the present approaches to the Vatican, as well as others which it thinks it may be necessary to open. Agreements will be made between the Holy See and the Italian Government for circulation in the latter's territory of land vehicles and aircraft to Vatican City.

Article VII

In territory surrounding Vatican City the Italian Government pledges not to permit new construction which overlooks Vatican City. It will also provide for the partial

demolition, for the same purpose, of those already existing at Porta Cavalleggeri and along the Via Aurelia and Viale Vaticano.

In conformity with the regulations of international law, aircraft of any kind are prohibited from flying over Vatican territory. In Rusticucci Square and adjacent zones at the colonnade, where extraterritoriality does not extend according to Article XV, any building or street changes which might interest the Vatican must be made by common accord.

Article VIII

Italy considers the person of the Supreme Pontiff as sacred and inviolable, and declares attempts against him, or incitement to commit them, punishable by the same penalties established for attempts or incitement to commit them against the person of the King. Offences or insults publicly committed in Italian territory against the person of the Supreme Pontiff with spoken or written word are punishable as such offences or insults against the person of the King.

Article IX

In conformity with the regulations of international law, all persons having fixed residences in Vatican City are subject to the sovereignty of the Holy See. Such citizenship is not lost by the simple fact of temporary residence elsewhere when not accompanied by the loss of a house in Vatican City or by other circumstances showing abandonment of residence.

Ceasing to be subject to the sovereignty of the Holy See, persons mentioned in the preceding paragraph will be considered outright Italian citizens in Italy, when not in possession of other citizenship. The same persons, while subject to the sovereignty of the Holy See, will be subject in Italian territory—even in matters wherein personal law must be observed—to Italian legislation, and in cases where they are believed to be citizens of other countries they shall be subject to the laws of the State to which they belong.

Article X

Dignitaries of the church and persons belonging to the pontifical court, who will be designated in a list to be agreed upon by the high contracting parties, even when not citizens of the Vatican, will always in all cases regarding Italy be exempt from military service, from jury duty, and from all services of a personal character. This rule also will be applied to functionaries declared by the Holy See to be indispensable and those permanently attached with fixed stipends to offices of the Holy See, and also to departments and offices designated and assigned in Articles 13, 14, 15, and 16 existing outside Vatican City.

Such functionaries will be listed by agreement, as the above-mentioned list is brought up-to-date annually by the Holy See. Ecclesiastics who for reasons of their offices are occupied outside Vatican City in execution of acts of the Holy See will not be subject by reason of their offices to any impediment, investigation or molestation on the part of the Italian authorities. Every foreigner invested with ecclesiastical office in Rome will enjoy the same personal guarantees due to Italian citizens by virtue of the laws of the Kingdom.

Article XI

The Central bodies of the Catholic Church are exempt from all interference on the part of the Italian State, except for dispositions of Italian law concerning purchases by moral bodies, as well as transfer of real estate.

Article XII

Italy recognises to the Holy See the active and passive right to maintain legations according to the general regulations of international law. Envoys of foreign governments to the Holy See will continue to enjoy all of the prerogatives and immunities which accrue to diplomatic agents according to international law. Their seats can continue to remain in Italian territory, enjoying the immunity due them according to international law, even though their States shall not

have diplomatic relations with Italy. It is agreed that Italy pledges for ever in every case to let pass freely correspondence of all States, including belligerents, both to the Holy See and vice versa, as well as to permit free access of bishops of the whole world to the Apostolic See.

The high contracting parties pledge themselves to establish normal diplomatic relations through the accrediting of an Italian ambassador to the Holy See and of a pontifical nuncio to Italy, who will be dean of the diplomatic corps according to the customary right recognised by the Congress of Vienna, 9 January 1815.

By reason of the recognised sovereignty, and without prejudice as set forth in Article XIX, diplomats and Holy See couriers sent in the name of the Supreme Pontiff enjoy in Italian territory, even in time of war, the same treatment due diplomats and diplomatic couriers of other foreign governments according to the regulations of international law.

Article XIII

Italy recognises to the Holy See the full possession of the patriarchal basilicas of St. John Lateran, of St. Mary the Greater, and of St. Paul Outside the Walls, with their annexed buildings. The State transfers to the Holy See free direction and administration of the basilica of St. Paul and also its annexed monastery, paying the Holy See sums corresponding to the amounts fixed annually by the Ministry of Education for said edifice. It is at the same time agreed that the Holy See is in freehold possession of the edifice of St. Calixtus, near St. Mary in Trastevere.

Article XIV

Italy recognises to the Holy See full property rights of the pontifical palace of Castel Gandolfo, with all endowments and appurtenances which at present are possessed by the Holy See, as well as pledging itself to cede the same terms in

full property rights of the Villa Barberini in Castel Gandolfo, with all endowments and appurtenances. This consignment must be effected within six months after the present treaty goes into effect.

In order to make one whole of the property sites on the north side of Janiculum Hill belonging to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide and other ecclesiastical bodies which overlook the Vatican palaces, the State pledges the transfer to the Holy See or to other bodies designated later all real property of the State or of third parties existing in said zone. The real property belonging to said congregation and other institutions, as well as other ones to be transferred, are indicated on the annexed plan.

Italy lastly transfers to the Holy See in full free property rights the convent edifices in Rome annexed to the basilica of the Holy Twelve Apostles, to the churches of St. Andrew of the Valley and St. Charles of the Catinari, to be consigned free of all tenants within a year of the date the present treaty goes into effect.

Article XV

Real estate designated in Article XIII and in the first and second lines of Article XIV, as well as the palaces Dataria, Cancelleri and Propaganda Fide in the Piazza di Spagna, and the Palace of the Holy Office and those adjacent thereto now used by the congregation of the Oriental Church in the Piazza Scossa Cavalli, and also the palace of the Vicariate and other edifices which the Holy See in the future deems necessary in order to arrange its departments, although forming a part of the territory of the Italian State, will enjoy the immunity recognised by international law to seats of diplomatic agents of foreign States.

The same immunity will be applied also regarding other churches and also in churches outside of Rome when there are celebrated in them, without being open to the public, ceremonies at which the Supreme Pontiff is present.

Article XVI

Real estate designated in the three preceding articles, as well as that used for seats for the following pontifical institutes: namely, the Gregorian University, the Biblical Institute, the Oriental Institute, the Archæological Institute, the Russian Seminary, Lombard College, the two palaces of St. Apollinaris, as well as the house of spiritual retreat for the clergy at Sts. John and Paul, will never be subjected to liens or expropriations for cause of public utility without a preceding agreement with the Holy See. The State also will exempt taxes, whether ordinary or extraordinary, whether levied by the State or any other body.

The Holy See has the power to make whatever adjustment it believes suitable to all of the above real estate designated in the present article, and also in the three preceding articles, without need for authorisation or consent on the part of Italian governmental, provincial or communal authorities, which can rely on the noble artistic traditions possessed by the Catholic Church.

Article XVII

Contributions of whatever nature due to the Holy See by other central bodies of Catholic Church or bodies directly managed by the Holy See, even outside of Rome, or to their dignitaries, employees, and functionaries, even when not fixed, will be exempted in Italian territory, beginning 1 January 1929, from any tribute whatsoever both on the part of the State as well as any other body.

Article XVIII

The treasuries of art and science in the Vatican City and in the Lateran Palace will remain visible to scholars and visitors, while full liberty will be reserved by the Holy See to regulate when they shall be open to the public.

Article XIX

Diplomats and envoys of the Holy See, diplomats and envoys of foreign countries to the Holy See, dignitaries

of the Church coming from abroad to the Vatican furnished with a passport of the state of origin visaed by Papal representatives abroad, can without any other formality reach the Vatican through Italian territory. The same procedure will apply to those furnished with a regular pontifical passport who go from the Vatican City abroad.

Article XX

Merchandise from abroad coming to the Vatican City, or outside the Vatican City for institutions or officers of the Holy See, will always be admitted in any point within Italian confines or any port of the kingdom through Italian territory with full exemption of customs duties and intercommunal taxes.

Article XXI

Cardinals enjoy in Italy the same honours due princes of the blood. Those resident in Rome, outside the Vatican City, are citizens of the latter to all intents and purposes. During a vacancy of the Holy See in a special way free transit and access of Cardinals through Italian territory to the Vatican will not be hindered, nor will any impediment or limit to personal liberty be placed on the same.

Italy in addition will take precautions that on the territory about the Vatican City acts will not be committed which may disturb the neighbourhood of the Vatican Conclave. Such regulations prevail also in conclaves which may be held outside the Vatican City, also councils presided over by the Holy Father or his legates, also as regards bishops called upon to participate therein.

Article XXII

On request of the Holy See, and also on delegation of power which can be given by the Holy See either in single cases or permanently, Italy will provide within her own territory for the punishment of crimes which are committed within the Vatican City, except when the author of the crime may have fled into Italian territory, in which case

the procedure against him will be according to Italian laws. The Holy See will consign to the Italian State persons who have fled to the Vatican City charged with acts committed in Italian territory which may be considered criminal by the laws of both States. And analogous procedure will apply to persons charged with crime who flee to property declared immune in Article XV, unless those in charge of such property prefer to invite the Italian police to enter and arrest the fugitives.

Article XXIII

For execution within the Kingdom of sentences emanating from tribunals of Vatican City, regulations of international law will be applied. Sentences and decrees issued by ecclesiastical authority and officially communicated to the civil authorities regarding ecclesiastical or religious persons, or concerning spiritual or disciplinary matters, will have at once full juridical efficacy for all civil purposes.

Article XXIV

The Holy See, in relation to the sovereignty due to it also in the international sphere, declares that it wishes to remain and will remain extraneous to all temporal disputes between States and to international congresses held for such objects, unless the contending parties make concordant appeal to its peaceful mission ; at the same time reserving the right to exercise its moral and spiritual power.

In consequence of this declaration, Vatican City will always and in every case be considered neutral and inviolable territory.

Article XXV

By special convention, signed jointly with the present treaty, and constituting the fourth annex to the same, and forming an integral part thereof, the liquidation of credit to the Holy See will be proceeded with.

Article XXVI

The Holy See agrees that with the agreements signed to-day, adequate assurance is made for what is necessary for it for providing for due liberty and independence of the pastoral government of the diocese of Rome and the Catholic Church in Italy and the world, declares the Roman Question definitely and irrevocably settled and therefore eliminated, and recognises the Kingdom of Italy under the dynasty of the House of Savoy, with Rome the capital of the Italian State.

Italy in her turn recognises the State of the Vatican City under the sovereignty of the Supreme Pontiff.

The law of the 13 May 1871, No. 214, is abrogated as well as any other decree contrary to the present treaty.

Article XXVII

The present treaty will be laid before the Supreme Pontiff and the King of Italy for ratification not later than four months from the date of signing, and will become effective on the act of the exchange of ratifications.

APPENDIX II

TEXT OF CONCORDAT BETWEEN THE HOLY SEE AND ITALY

IN the name of the Most Holy Trinity :

Whereas, since the beginning of negotiations between the Holy See and Italy for resolution of the Roman Question, the Holy See itself has proposed that a treaty relative to the said question should be accompanied as a necessary complement by a concordat for settling the conditions of religion and the Church in Italy.

Whereas, a treaty for solution of the Roman Question has been concluded and signed to-day.

His Holiness the Supreme Pontiff Pius XI and His Majesty Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy, have agreed to make a concordat and to this end have nominated the same plenipotentiaries delegated for stipulation of the treaty, that is to say, for His Holiness the Most Reverend Eminence Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, his Secretary of State, and for His Majesty Victor Emmanuel III Signor Cavaliere Benito Mussolini, Premier and head of the Government, who, having exchanged full credentials and found the same good and in due form, have agreed to the following articles :

Article I

Italy, according to the terms of Article I of the Treaty, assures to the Catholic Church free exercise of spiritual power, free and public exercise of worship, as well as jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, in conformity with the regulations of our present concordat ; where it is necessary accords to ecclesiastics the defence of its authority for acts of their spiritual ministry. In consideration of the sacred character of the Eternal City, Bishopric of the Supreme Pontiff and bourne of pilgrimages, the Italian Government will engage to prevent in Rome all which may conflict with the said character.

Article II

The Holy See communicates and corresponds freely with Bishops, the clergy, and the whole Catholic world without

any interference by the Italian Government. In the same way, freely with their clergy and all the faithful.

Both the Holy See and Bishops may freely publish, also affix to inside and external doors of edifices destined for worship or offices of their ministry, instructions, ordinances, pastoral letters, diocesan bulletins, and other acts regarding the spiritual government of the faithful which they may choose to issue within the province of their competence. Such publications and notices, and generally all acts and documents relative to the spiritual government of the faithful, are not subject to taxes.

Such publications as regard the Holy See can be made in any language. Those by Bishops are made in Italian or Latin, but beside the Italian text the ecclesiastical authority may add a translation in other languages.

Ecclesiastical authorities may make collections inside and at the doors of churches as well as edifices which are their property.

Article III

Theological students of the last two years of preparation in theology intended for the priesthood and novices in religious institutions may, on their request, postpone from year to year until the twenty-sixth year of age fulfilment of the obligations of military service.

Clerics ordained " in sacris " and members of religious orders who take vows are exempt from military service except in case of general mobilisation. In such cases priests pass into the armed forces of the State, but maintain their religious dress, so that they can practise among the troops their sacred ministry under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the military ordinary Bishop. According to the terms they are preferentially attached to the health services.

At the same time, even if general mobilisation is ordered, priests exercising full Divine rights are dispensed from the call to arms. Ordinaries, parish priests, parochial vicars or coadjutors, temporary vicars and priests permanently

attached to rectories of churches open to worship are included in this category.

Article IV

Ecclesiastics and members of religious orders are exempt from the office of jurymen.

Article V

No ecclesiastic can be employed or remain in the employment or offices of the Italian State or public bodies depending upon the same without " nulla osta " of the diocesan ordinary.

Revocation of " nulla osta " deprives the ecclesiastics of capacity to continue exercising employment or office taken up.

In any case apostate priests or those incurring censure cannot be employed in a teaching post or any office or employment in which they have immediate contact with the public.

Article VI

Stipends and other emoluments enjoyed by ecclesiastics on account of their office are exempt from charges and liens in the same way as stipends and salaries of State employees.

Article VII

Ecclesiastics cannot be required by magistrates or other authorities to give information regarding persons or matters that have come to their knowledge through the exercise of their sacred ministry.

Article VIII

In the case of the sending of an ecclesiastic or a member of a religious order before a penal magistrate for crime, the King's procurator must inform the proceedings thereof to the ordinary of the diocese in whose territory he exercises jurisdiction, and must immediately transmit to the office of the ordinary the preliminary decision thereon and, if issued, the final sentence, both of the court of first instance and the court of appeal.

In case of arrest, the ecclesiastic or member of a religious order is treated with the respect due to his state and hierarchical degree. In case of the sentence of an ecclesiastic or member

of a religious order, punishment is to be undergone in places separate from those designated for laymen, unless a competent ordinary has reduced the prisoner to a lay state.

Article IX

As a general rule, edifices open for worship are exempt from requisition or occupation.

When for grave public necessity it becomes necessary to occupy an edifice open to worship, the authority proceeding with the occupation must make previous arrangements with the ordinary, unless reasons of absolute urgency are opposed thereto. In this case the occupying authority must immediately inform the ordinary.

Except in cases of urgent necessity public force cannot enter for the exercise of its functions edifices open to worship without previous notice to the ecclesiastical authorities.

Article X

For no reason is it permitted to proceed with the demolition of edifices open to worship except by previous agreement with competent ecclesiastical authorities.

Article XI

The State recognises the holidays established by the Church, which are: All Sundays, New Year's Day, Epiphany, St. Joseph's Day (that is, 19 March), Ascension Day, Corpus Domini, the Feast of the Apostles Sts. Peter and Paul (that is, 29 June), the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (15 August), All Saints' Day, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (8 December), and Christmas Day.

Article XII

On Sundays and fixed Church holidays, where there is a chapter, the celebrant of High Mass will sing, according to holy liturgy, a prayer for the prosperity of the King of Italy and the Italian State.

Article XIII

The Italian Government will communicate to the Holy

See a full list of the ecclesiastical personnel regularly attached to its service for spiritual assistance with the military forces of the State, as soon as same is approved according to law.

The designation of ecclesiastics charged with the high direction of the service of spiritual assistance—military ordinary, vicar and inspectors—is to be made confidentially by the Holy See to the Italian Government. Whenever the Italian Government has reasons for opposing such designation it shall advise the Holy See which shall proceed to another designation.

The military ordinary will have the rank of archbishop.

The nomination of military chaplains is to be made by competent authorities of the Italian State from the designation of the military ordinary.

Article XIV

The Italian aeronautical, land, and naval troops shall enjoy in regard to religious duties the privileges and exemptions permitted by canon law.

Military chaplains have, as regards said troops, parochial authority. They exercise their sacred ministry under the jurisdiction of the military ordinary, assisted by his own curia.

The military ordinary has jurisdiction also over the religious personnel, male or female, attached to the military hospitals.

Article XV

The ordinary military Archbishop is attached to the chapter of the church of the Pantheon in Rome, constituting with it the clergy charged with religious service at the said basilica. Such clergy are authorised to provide for all religious functions, even outside of Rome, which, in conformity with canonical regulations, may be requested by the State or the Royal Household.

The Holy See agrees to confer on all canons forming the chapter of the church of the Pantheon the dignity of Apostolic Prothonotaries "ad instar durante munere."

The nomination of each of them will be made by the Cardinal Vicar of Rome after presentation by His Majesty the King of Italy, and following confidential indication of the candidates.

The Holy See reserves the right to transfer the Deaconry to another church.

Article XVI

The high contracting parties will proceed by agreement through the operation of mixed commissions to a revision of the diocesan limits in order to make them correspond with the provinces of each State.

It is understood thatt he Holy See will create a diocese of Zara ; that no part of the territory subject to the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Italy will depend upon a bishop whose territory is subject to the sovereignty of another State ; and no diocese of the Kingdom of Italy will include territorial zones subject to the sovereignty of another State.

The same principle will be observed for all parishes existing or to be created in territories near each State.

Modifications which, after the agreement heretofore outlined, may be made to diocesan limits, will be arranged by the Holy See in agreement with the Italian Government and in observance of the principles laid down, except for small rectifications of territory required for spiritual needs.

Article XVII

The reduction of the number of dioceses to result from the application of the preceding article will be carried into effect gradually as the dioceses become vacant.

It is understood that the reduction will not imply suppression of titles within the dioceses or of chapters which will be maintained, but that the dioceses will be regrouped in such a manner that the chief towns of the same will correspond with those of the provinces.

The aforesaid reductions will leave untouched all of the

present economic resources of the dioceses and other ecclesiastical bodies existing within the same, including the sums now paid by the Italian State.

Article XVIII

Owing to the necessity, by disposition of ecclesiastical authority, of uniting several parishes in a temporary or definitive way, either by intrusting them to one parish priest assisted by one or more vice parish priests, or by uniting several priests into one presbytery, the State shall maintain unchanged the economic allowance due these parishes.

Article XIX

The choice of archbishops and bishops belongs to the Holy See. Before an archbishop, bishop, or coadjutor with the right of succession is nominated, the Holy See shall communicate the name of the chosen person to the Italian Government, in order to be sure that the Government has no objections of a political nature against such person. The formalities to this effect shall be carried out with all possible haste and with the greatest discretion, so that secrecy about the chosen candidate shall be maintained until he is formally nominated.

Article XX

All bishops, before their installation in their respective dioceses, shall take an oath at the hands of the Premier under the following formula :

" Before God and on the Holy Gospels I swear and promise to respect and cause my clergy to respect the King and Government as they are established under the constitutional laws of the State. I furthermore swear and promise not to participate in any agreement or attend any council which would be injurious to the Italian State, or to the public peace, and not to permit my clergy any such participation. Being mindful only of the welfare and interest

of the Italian State, I will endeavour to avert any danger which might menace them."

Article XXI

The choice of persons for ecclesiastical benefices belongs to the ecclesiastical authority. The appointment of such persons shall be communicated confidentially to the Italian Government by the proper church authorities. Appointments cannot be approved until thirty days have elapsed since such communication. In the meantime the Italian Government, if it has any objection to an appointment, may manifest it confidentially to the ecclesiastical authority which, in the event a discrepancy of views persists, shall submit the case to the Holy See.

Should serious objections against the exercise of an ecclesiastical benefice by a priest arise, the Italian Government shall communicate such objections to the bishop, who, by agreement with the Government, shall take appropriate measures within three months. In the event of a controversy between the bishop and the Government, the Holy See shall refer the solution to two ecclesiastics of his own choice, who, by agreement with two delegates from the Italian Government, shall make a final decision.

Article XXII

Ecclesiastics who are not Italian citizens cannot be made the holders of benefices existing in Italy. Bishops and parish priests must speak Italian. If necessary they must have assistants who, besides Italian, must understand and speak also the local language, for the purpose of giving religious assistance in the language of the faithful in accordance with the rules of the church.

Article XXIII

The provisions of Articles XVI, XVII XIX, XX, XXI and XXII are not to be applied to Rome and its suburban dioceses.

It is agreed that in the event the Holy See reorganises such dioceses, allowances now paid by the Italian Government to parishes or other ecclesiastical institutions shall remain unchanged.

Article XXIV

The " exequatur " and the royal " placet," or any other royal appointment in the matter of ecclesiastical benefices and offices, are abolished throughout Italy, except the exemptions set by Article XXIX (sec. 7).

Article XXV

The Italian State renounces the royal prerogative concerning major and minor ecclesiastical benefices. The right exercised by the State of using the allowances during the vacancy of ecclesiastical benefices is abolished.

Article XXVI

Appointment of those who shall enjoy major or minor benefices, or those who temporarily represent a vacant See or benefice, shall be effective from the date on which the appointment is communicated officially to the Italian Government. The administration and the use of income during such vacancy are regulated by the rule of canon law. In case of bad management, the Italian State, after agreement with the ecclesiastical authorities, can seize the income, turning it over to the person in charge or, in the latter's absence, to the institution.

Article XXVII

The basilicas and Holy House at Loreto, St. Francis at Assisi, St. Antony at Padua, together with the buildings and institutions annexed thereto, except those having merely a lay character, shall be ceded to the Holy See, and their administration shall freely belong to the Holy See. All institutions of any sort which are conducted by the Holy See in Italy, together with missionary colleges, shall

likewise be free from any interference from the Italian Government. Purchases of property by moral bodies shall, however, be subject to Italian laws. The property and title of the foregoing basilicas shall be defined by mixed commissions, who shall take due account of the rights of third parties or the endowments which are necessary to the foregoing lay institutions. Ecclesiastical administration shall replace civil administration in churches in which the latter administration is existing.

Article XXVIII

In order to appease the conscience of those who, under Italian law, own ecclesiastical property, the Holy See grants full recognition to the title of such property. The Holy See will advise bishops to this effect.

Article XXIX

The Italian State shall revise its legislation in so far as ecclesiastical matters are concerned in order to make it conform to the aspirations inspiring both the treaty and the concordat. The high contracting parties agree forthwith as follows :

First, to leaving unchanged the juridical status of ecclesiastical bodies hitherto recognised by Italian laws (namely, the Holy See, its dioceses, chapters, seminaries, parishes, and so forth). Such status shall be extended to churches open to worship which hitherto have not been in possession of it, including those formerly belonging to ecclesiastical bodies which were suppressed. Except for what is provided in Article XXVII, the boards of administrators, wherever they may exist and whatever their denomination, even if composed of a majority or totally of laymen, shall not interfere with services of worship, while appointment of such boards shall be made in agreement with ecclesiastical authorities.

Second, the judicial status shall be recognised of religious associations with or without vows which are approved by the Holy See, which have their mother house in Italy and

which are represented, *de jure* or *de facto*, by persons having Italian citizenship and who live in Italy. The judicial status also is recognised of Italian religious provinces within the boundaries of the Italian State and its colonial possessions, also of associations having their mother house abroad, provided the same conditions are implied, also of religious houses, when the particular rules of each order attribute to them the capacity of buying or owning, also of the headquarters of religious orders, also of provinces of foreign religious associations. Associations and religious houses already enjoying juridical status will maintain it.

Third, confraternities the main purpose of which is to worship shall not be subject to further alteration of their aims and purposes, and they shall depend upon ecclesiastical authorities in so far as their functioning and administration are concerned.

Fourth, the existence of religious foundations of any sort is permitted, provided that it is manifest that they respond to the religious need of the population and that there is no financial obligation on the part of the State. The above provision also applies to existing foundations.

Fifth, one-half of the membership of boards of civil administration of ecclesiastical estates formed after such estates were seized by the State shall be composed of members designated by ecclesiastical authorities. The same provision applies to religious funds in new provinces.

Sixth, acts done hitherto by bodies without complying with civil laws may be recognised and regularised by the Italian State upon demand of the bishop to be submitted within three months of the date upon which the present concordant becomes operative.

Seventh, the Italian State surrenders jurisdiction over the palatine clergy excepting those attached to the church of St. Veronica of the Handkerchief at Turin, the church at Superga, the church of the Sudario at Rome, and chapels annexed to the royal palaces or the residences of members of the royal family. A special commission shall attend to

assigning adequate endowment to each palatine church or basilica under the criteria set for churches in Article XXVII.

Eighth, leaving unchanged the taxation facilities already enjoyed by ecclesiastical bodies under existing Italian laws, the purpose of worship or religion is placed on the same footing as the purpose of benevolence or culture in so far as taxation is concerned. The extra tax of 30 per cent. imposed by the law of 15 August 1867, the so-called contribution taxes provided by the laws of 7 July 1866 and 15 August 1867, and the tax on the transfer of ecclesiastical property imposed by the royal decree of December 1923, are abolished. Any special tax on church property is excluded in the future. Clergymen shall be exempted from taxation in so far as the exercise of their sacerdotal ministry is concerned, or any other tax of the kind.

Ninth, the use of religious garb by laymen, or by clergymen who are prohibited from wearing it by definite orders of the proper ecclesiastical authorities—an order which must be communicated to the Italian Government—is forbidden and punished with the same penalties which are meted to those who illicitly wear the military uniform.

Article XXX

Ordinary and extraordinary administration of any property belonging to any ecclesiastical institute or religious association is carried out under the supervision and control of the proper church authorities, and any interference by the Italian State is excluded.

The Italian State, until it is established otherwise through new accords, shall continue making up inadequacy in incomes or vacant ecclesiastical benefits through allowances in measure not inferior to that granted by present laws. Therefore, the management of such benefits—so far as acts and contracts beyond simple administration are concerned—shall be effected with the intervention of the Italian State. Income of Rome suburban dioceses and

income of chapters and parishes in Rome are not subject to the aforesaid intervention. The amount of income of such dioceses, chapters and parishes, shall be announced yearly by bishops, dioceses, and the cardinal vicar of Rome in order that they may get the extra allowance provided under the present laws.

Article XXXI

The creation of new ecclesiastical bodies or religious associations shall be made by ecclesiastical authority in accordance with the rules of canon law and recognition of their juridical status, so far as civil effects are concerned, shall be made by civil authorities.

Article XXXII

Recognition and authorisation provided in the present concordat and treaty shall occur through rules set by civil laws which shall be made to conform to provisions of the treaty and concordat.

Article XXXIII

Ownership of the Catacombs existing in Rome and in other places in Italy shall be ceded to the Holy See which undertakes to guard, keep up, and preserve them. Therefore, the Holy See, after complying with the laws of the State and respecting the eventual rights of third parties, is empowered to proceed to the necessary excavations and to remove the holy bodies.

Article XXXIV

The Italian State, wishing to reinvest the institution of marriage, which is the basis of the family, with the dignity conformable to the Catholic traditions of its people, recognises the sacrament of matrimony performed according to canon law as fully effective in civil law. Notices of such marriages will be made both in the parish church and in the town or city hall. Immediately after the celebration of such marriage the parish priest will explain to those he has married the civil effect of matrimony, reading the articles

of the civil code regarding the rights and duties of spouses and will prepare the marriage certificate, a copy of which he will send within five days to the commune in order that it may be copied into the registers by the civil authorities.

Cases concerning nullity of marriage and dispensation from marriage by reason of nonconsummation are reserved for ecclesiastical tribunals and their departments.

Decrees and respective sentences here, when they become final, will be brought before the supreme tribunal of Segnatura, which will decide if the rules of canon law regarding jurisdiction of the court, citation and proper appearance or non-appearance of the parties concerned have been respected.

Such decrees and final sentences with the decisions of the supreme court of Segnatura will be transmitted to the appeal court having jurisdiction over the case, which by means of an order issued in council will render the same executive for all civil purposes, and will order that they be inscribed on the civil registers of the State alongside the record of the marriage act.

As regards cases of personal separation, the Holy See agrees that the same be judged by the civil judicial authority.

Article XXXV

For middle schools maintained by ecclesiastical or religious bodies, the institution of State examination remains unchanged with equal opportunities for candidates of government and religious institutions.

Article XXXVI

Italy considers the teaching of Christian Doctrine according to the forms received from Catholic tradition as the foundation and crown of public education. Therefore Italy consents that the religious teaching now imparted in the elementary schools be further developed in the middle schools according to a programme to be agreed upon between the Holy See and the State.

Such instruction will be given by masters, professors, priests, and members of religious orders approved by ecclesiastical authorities and in subsidiary form by lay masters and professors furnished with proper certificates of capacity issued by the diocesan ordinary.

Revocation of the certificate by the ordinary immediately deprives the teacher of authority to instruct. Only text-books approved by the ecclesiastical authorities will be used in the public schools for such religious teaching.

Article XXXVII

Directors of State associations for physical education and preliminary instruction of "Avanguardisti" and "Balilla," in order to render possible religious teaching and assistance for the youth in their charge, will arrange so that the schedule will not prevent fulfilment of religious duties by boys on Sundays and fixed religious holidays.

Similarly directors of public schools will arrange as regards assemblies of scholars on holidays.

Article XXXVIII

Professors of the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart and the dependent Institute of Mary the Immaculate are subordinated to Nulla Osta by order of the Holy See to ensure that no exception will be able to be taken from a moral or religious point of view.

Article XXXIX

Universities, major and minor seminaries, whether diocesan, inter-diocesan or local, academies, colleges and other Catholic institutes for the formation and culture of ecclesiastics will continue to depend solely upon the Holy See, without any interference on the part of scholastic authorities of the Kingdom.

Article XL

Degrees in sacred theology issued by faculties and approved by the Holy See will be recognised by the Italian State.

Similarly diplomas will be recognised which are conferred in schools of palæography, the archive of science and documentary diplomacy existing in the archives of the Vatican City.

Article XLI

Italy will authorise for use in the kingdom and colonies of pontifical knightly honours, by means of registration of the patent nomination to be made effective by presentation of the patent and written request of the interested party.

Article XLII

Italy will admit recognition by royal decree of noble titles conferred by the Supreme Pontiff even after 1870 and also those to be conferred in the future. In cases to be determined such recognition will not be subject to an initial payment of tax.

Article XLIII

The Italian State recognises organisations dependent on "Azione Cattolica Italiana," inasmuch as they, as the Holy See has declared, exercise activity outside all political parties and are under the immediate direction of the hierarchy of the church for discussion and propaganda of Catholic principles. The Holy See takes the present occasion of the stipulation of this concordat to renew to all ecclesiastics and members of religious orders in Italy the prohibition against joining or taking part in any political party.

Article XLIV

If in the future any difficulty should arise on the interpretation of the present concordat, the Holy See and Italy will proceed equably to an amicable solution.

Article XLV

The present concordat will be effective on the exchange of ratification contemporaneously with the treaty stipulated

between the high contracting parties eliminating the Roman Question. With the becoming effective of the present concordat, all regulations deriving from concordats made by former Italian States will cease to have effect. Austrian laws, laws and regulations, decrees and ordinances of the Italian State at present effective, are abrogated when the present concordat becomes effective, in so far as they are in opposition to the terms of this concordat.

In order to carry into effect the present concordat, there will be nominated, immediately after the signing thereof, a commission composed of persons chosen by both parties.

FINANCIAL CONVENTION BETWEEN THE HOLY SEE AND ITALY

Article I

Italy undertakes to pay upon the exchange of ratifications of the treaty, to the Holy See the sum of 750,000,000 Italian lire and to hand at the same time to the Holy See Italian five per cent. negotiable consolidated bonds—with coupons falling due on 30 June next—to the nominal value of one billion Italian lire.

Article II

The Holy See declares that it accepts the above as a definite settlement of its financial relations with Italy depending upon the events of 1870.

Article III

All deeds to be executed for the effectuation of the treaty, this convention and the concordat shall be exempt from all taxes.

APPENDIX III

THE LAW OF GUARANTEES

LAW CONCERNING THE PREROGATIVES OF THE SOVEREIGN PONTIFF AND THE HOLY SEE, AND CONCERNING THE RELATIONS OF THE STATE WITH THE CHURCH, 13 MAY 1871.

TITLE I

PREROGATIVES OF THE SOVEREIGN PONTIFF AND THE HOLY SEE

Article I

THE person of the Sovereign Pontiff is sacred and inviolable.

Article II

Any attempt against the person of the Sovereign Pontiff, or incitement to such attempt, is punishable by the penalties established for an attempt against the person of the king or incitement thereto.

Public offences and insults directly committed against the person of the Sovereign Pontiff by means of speeches, acts, and the means indicated in Article I of the Press Law, are punishable by the penalties stipulated in Article XIX of that law.

Such crimes will be offences against public law, and will be dealt with by the Court of Assizes.

Discussion of religious matters is entirely free.

Article III

The Italian Government renders the Sovereign Pontiff within the territory of the kingdom sovereign honours, and extends to him the pre-eminence of honour recognised by Catholic sovereigns.

It is within the faculty of the Sovereign Pontiff to maintain the customary number of guards attached to his person and for the surveillance of the palaces without prejudice

to the obligation and duties which for such guards result from laws in force within the kingdom.

Article IV

The annual grant of 3,225,000 liras in favour of the Holy See is continued.

With this sum, equal to that provided for by the Roman budget under the title : Sacred Apostolic Palaces, Sacred College, Secretariat of State, and Foreign Diplomatic Order, it is understood that the emoluments of the Sovereign Pontiff and the various ecclesiastical needs of the Holy See, the ordinary and extraordinary administration, and the maintenance of the apostolic palaces and their dependencies, the salaries, gratuities, and pensions of the guards mentioned in the preceding article, attachés to the Pontifical Court, and incidental expenses such as the ordinary maintenance and protection of the museums and libraries attached to the sacred palaces, and the salaries, gratuities, and pensions of those employed therein will be met.

This endowment of 3,225,000 liras will be entered in the great book of public debt under the formula of perpetual and inalienable annuity in the name of the Holy See ; and during the vacations of the Holy See its payment will be continued to provide for all the needs of the Roman Church during such intervals of time.

This endowment will remain exempt from all kinds of taxation or government, communal or provincial charge ; and it cannot be reduced, even in the case where the Italian Government should hereafter determine to take into its own charge the expenses incidental to the museums and libraries.

Article V

The Sovereign Pontiff, in addition to the endowment established by the preceding article, shall continue to enjoy the apostolic palaces of the Vatican and the Lateran, with

all the edifices, gardens, and land appertaining thereto, as well as the Villa de Castel Gandalfo, with all its dependencies and everything thereto attached.

The said palaces, villa, and annexes, as also the museums, library, and art and archæological collections situated therein, are inalienable and exempt from all tax, charge, or expropriation for reasons of public utility.

Article VI

During the vacations of the Pontifical See no judiciary or political authority shall, for any motive whatsoever, impede or limit the personal liberty of the Cardinals.

The Government shall provide that the assemblies of the Conclave and Œcumenical Councils shall not be disturbed by any external violence.

Article VII

No officer of the public authority or representative of the public power shall, in the exercise of his proper function, enter the palaces or places serving as the habitual residence or temporary dwelling of the Sovereign Pontiff, or in which may be assembled either a Conclave or an Œcumenical Council, save with the express authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, Conclave, or Council.

Article VIII

Any examination, perquisition, or seizure of papers, documents, books, or registers in the offices or congregations of a pontifical character endowed with attributions manifestly spiritual is prohibited.

Article IX

The Sovereign Pontiff is entirely free to exercise all the functions of his spiritual ministry, and to affix to the doors of the basilicas and churches of Rome notice of the acts of the aforesaid ministry.

Article X

The ecclesiastics who, by reason of their office, participate in Rome in the emanation of the acts of the spiritual ministry of the Holy See are not subject by reason of these to any prosecution, investigation, or perquisition by the public authority.

Any foreign person invested with ecclesiastical office shall enjoy the same personal guarantees as Italian citizens in virtue of the laws of the kingdom.

Article XI

The envoys of foreign Governments to the Holy See shall enjoy within the kingdom all the prerogatives and immunities accorded to diplomatic agents by international law.

In respect of offences of which they are the object, the same penal sanctions are applicable as for the envoys of foreign powers to the Italian Government.

To the envoys of His Holiness to Italian Governments are assured within the territory of the kingdom any customary prerogatives and immunities according to international right, to have access to their mission or to return from it.

Article XII

The Sovereign Pontiff shall correspond freely with the episcopate and with the whole Catholic world without any hindrance on the part of the Italian Government.

To such end he shall be granted the right to establish within the Vatican, or within any other of his residences, postal and telegraphic offices served by employees of his own choosing.

The pontifical post-office shall be able to correspond directly under sealed cover with any post-office of foreign administrations, or remit its own correspondence to the Italian offices. In both cases the transport of telegrams and

correspondence bearing the stamp of the pontifical office shall be exempt from all taxation and all charges on Italian territory.

Mails despatched in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff shall have the status of cabinet mails for foreign Governments.

The Pontifical telegraphic office shall be connected with the telegraphic system of the kingdom at the expense of the State.

The telegrams despatched by the aforesaid office, and specifically marked *pontifical*, shall be received and despatched subject to the prerogatives laid down for State telegrams, and shall be exempt from all charge within the kingdom.

These same advantages shall be accorded to telegrams of the Sovereign Pontiff or signed by his order, which, bearing the official stamp of the Holy See, may be presented at any telegraphic office of the kingdom.

Telegrams addressed to the Sovereign Pontiff shall be exempt from charges usually borne by the receiver.

Article XIII

In the township of Rome and in the six suburbicarian Sees, the seminaries, academies, colleges and other Catholic institutions founded for the purpose of ecclesiastical education and culture shall continue under the sole authority of the Holy See, without interference from the scholastic authorities of the kingdom.

Title II

Article XIV

All special restrictions of the right of assembly of members of the Catholic clergy are abolished.

Article XV

The Government renounces the right of apostolic legation in Sicily, and in the whole kingdom the right of

nomination or suggestion in the matter of the ascription of major benefices.

Major and minor benefices may only be conferred upon citizens of the realm, except in the City of Rome and the suburbicarian Sees.

No innovation is made in the disposal of benefices under royal patronage.

Article XVI

The royal "exequatur" and "placet," and all other forms of Government assent concerning the publication and execution of acts under ecclesiastical authority, are abolished.

However, until further notice, in the special law referred to in Article XVIII there remain, subject to the royal "exequatur" and "placet," such acts of ecclesiastical authority as concern the disposal of ecclesiastical property and the attribution of major or minor benefices except those of the town of Rome and the suburbicarian Sees.

No change is made in the provisions of the civil laws relative to the creation and means of maintenance of the ecclesiastical institutions and to the transfer of their liens.

Article XVII

In spiritual and disciplinary matters no claims or appeal against the acts of the ecclesiastical authority are permitted, and no execution by restraint is either recognised or accorded.

The civil jurisdiction has the right to be made aware of the juridical acts and any act of the ecclesiastical authorities aforementioned.

However, such acts are annulled if they are contrary to the laws of the State or to public order, or if they offend the rights of private persons and if they constitute a misdemeanour they are subject to the penal laws.

Article XVIII

The conservation and administration of the ecclesiastical properties of the kingdom shall be provided for by subsequent laws.

Article XIX

In all matters coming within the sphere of the present law any provision now existing shall, if it be contrary to this same law, cease to have effect.

TURIN, 13 *May* 1871.

Signed: VICTOR EMMANUEL.

Countersigned: G. LAUZA, VISCONTI-VENOSTA, G. DE FALCO, TUNITIUS SELLA, C. CORRENTI, E. RIGOTTI, G. ACTON, S. COSTAGNOLA, G. GADDA.

APPENDIX IV

(Translation)

ALLOCUTION OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS THE NINTH

Addressed to the Cardinals in the Consistory of 12 *March* 1877

VENERABLE BRETHREN,—

We have many times in the sorrowful years of our troubled Pontificate assembled you here around us, to deplore with you the evils by which the Church has been undeservedly afflicted, and to protest against the efforts made in Italy and elsewhere for the ruin of the Church and of the Apostolic See. But in these last years We have had to witness new and more violent attacks and outrages, which the Church of God has suffered in various parts of the Catholic world, from enemies who thought that in our calamitous position, left as We were without human aid, there was a fit opportunity for assailing the Spouse of Jesus Christ. We should indeed have wished, Venerable Brethren, to describe to you to-day the cruel and widespread persecution to which the Church is subjected in many parts of Europe ; but, reserving this description for another time, We will speak to you now of the daily increasing hardships and sufferings of the Church in Italy, and of the dangers with which We and this Apostolic See are more and more threatened.

It is now the seventh year since the usurpers of our Civil Power, trampling under foot every Divine and human right, and in violation of solemn treaties, took advantage of the misfortunes of an illustrious Catholic nation to seize by force of arms what remained of our provinces, and, storming this Holy City, filled the whole Church with sorrow for so great a crime. In spite of the hypocritical and false promises which the usurpers then made to Foreign Governments, declaring that they would respect and honour the liberty of the Church, and give full and perfect freedom

to the Roman Pontiff, We did not fail to foresee what would be our condition under their rule. Knowing well the designs of men whom the spirit of revolution and iniquitous ties have bound together, We publicly declared that the object of the sacrilegious invasion was not merely to destroy our Civil Power; but, by its destruction, to destroy afterwards more easily the institutions of the Church, to subvert the authority of the Holy See, and to overthrow the power which, notwithstanding our unworthiness, We hold as Vicar of Christ on earth.

This destruction and overthrow of whatever belongs to the structure and organisation of the Church may be said to be almost complete; if not to the extent desired by our persecutors, at least so far as to have brought about great ruin: for We have only to look at the laws and decrees that have been made since the beginning of the usurpation, to see clearly that, one by one, and day after day, the means and safeguards which are needed for the proper administration and government of the Church have been withdrawn.

The suppression of Religious Orders has, in fact, deprived us of strenuous and useful fellow-labourers, whose work in carrying on the business of the ecclesiastical congregations was necessary for many parts of our ministry; it has also closed many houses in which the religious men were received who came here at stated times from foreign countries, to recruit their spiritual strength or to give an account of their office; and it has uprooted many fruitful plants from which blessings and peace were borne to all parts of the earth. The same act of suppression, affecting the Colleges established in this City for the training of worthy missionaries to carry the light of the Gospel into distant and also barbarous lands, has deprived many peoples of pious and charitable help; and has hindered even the civilisation and culture which result from the teaching and practice of our holy religion. And to these laws, severe in themselves, and adverse to religion and society, still greater

severity has been added by the ministerial regulations which, under heavy penalties, forbid Religious to live together in common or to receive new subjects.

After the breaking up of the Religious Orders, the destruction of the Secular Clergy was next attempted; and the law was passed which has caused us and the Pastors of the Italian people to see with grief many young ecclesiastics, who were the hope of the Church, torn from the Sanctuary, and, at the age when they were about to consecrate themselves to God, forced to take up arms, and to lead a life at variance with their training and with the spirit of their sacred calling.

Then came other unjust laws, which seized upon a great part of the patrimony that the Church had long held by sacred and inviolable right; and substituted for it a partial and scanty income, subject to the eventualities of the times and to the will and caprice of the Government.

We have had also to deplore the seizure of a large number of buildings, erected at great cost by the piety of the faithful, and worthy of the Christian days of Rome, where religious communities or virgins consecrated to God had a happy abode, but which have been taken from their rightful owners and turned to worldly uses.

Again, many pious works and institutions of charity and beneficence, of which some were founded by the munificence of our predecessors or by the pious liberality of foreign nations, for the relief of poverty and of other miseries and necessities, have been withdrawn from our control and from the management of sacred ministers; and, although a few of these works of public charity are still left under the care of the Church, it is said that a law will soon be proposed either for their suppression or to exclude us from their government.

Moreover, and with great sorrow We speak of it, We have seen both public and private education withdrawn from the authority and direction of the Church; and the office of teacher entrusted to men of doubtful orthodoxy,

and even to declared enemies of the Church who had made public profession of atheism.

But the seizure and overthrow of so many important religious institutions, it was thought, would not suffice, unless also the ministers of the sanctuary could be prevented from freely exercising their spiritual office. This is the object of the law lately passed in the Chamber of Deputies, entitled "On the Abuses of the Clergy"; by which all acts that may be brought under the vague term of disturbance of the public conscience, or of the peace of families, are, both in Bishops and in priests, declared criminal and to be severely punished. According to this law, all words and writings of whatsoever kind, by which ministers of religion may feel it their duty to censure or disapprove any decrees, laws, or other acts of the civil power, as being adverse either to sacred authority, or to the laws of God or of the Church, are liable to prosecution and punishment; and so are all persons who publish or circulate any such writings, of whatsoever ecclesiastical rank they may be, or from whatsoever place such writings may be issued. When this law is in force, it will be in the power of a lay tribunal to determine whether and how a priest, in administering the Sacraments or in preaching the word of God, has disturbed the public conscience or the peace of families, and the voice of both Bishops and priests will be silenced; nay, even the very voice of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, who, although for political reasons he is said not to be personally liable to persecution, will nevertheless be regarded as punished in the person of his accomplices: and this has been stated in Parliament by one of the ministers, who declared that it was neither new or unfrequent, nor opposed to the theory or practice of criminal law, to punish accomplices when the author of a crime was beyond reach. From this it is seen that, in the intention of our rulers, the said law strikes at ourself; so that, when our words or acts offend against the law, the Bishops and priests who publish our words or give effect to our injunctions will

bear the punishment of the alleged crime, but to us will be attributed its guilt.

Behold, Venerable Brethren, how the safeguards and institutions which had been strengthened by ages and had withstood every storm, and which are necessary for the administration of the Church, have now been overturned ; how even the office which the Church has received from her Divine Founder, to teach, and to guard, and to provide for the salvation of souls, is wickedly obstructed ; how the mouths of her ministers are closed by threat of heavy punishment: and yet, when they teach their people to observe all things that Christ has commanded, and are instant in season and out of season, arguing, beseeching, and reproving in all patience and doctrine, they do only that which Divine and Apostolic authority has enjoined. Other secret designs there are against the Church, of which We will not now speak ; designs in which the counsels and instigations of certain public officials have not been wanting, and which have for their object to bring days of greater tribulation upon the Church, either by causing a schism at the election of the next Pontiff, or by obstructing the Bishops of Italy in the exercise of their spiritual power. To meet this last difficulty We have lately permitted the acts of canonical institution of Bishops to be presented to the civil authority, in order thereby to provide for a state of things in which there is no longer a question as to the possession of temporalities, but in which the consciences of the faithful, their peace, and the care and salvation of their souls are manifestly in danger. But in doing this for the removal of most grave perils, We wish it to be clearly understood that We disapprove and condemn the unjust law of the *regium placitum*, as it is called, and declare it to be a violation of the Divine authority and liberty of the Church.

After what we have shown, and omitting many other evils of which We might speak, how, We ask, can We govern the Church under the rule of a power which deprives us of all means and safeguards for the exercise of our

Apostolate, which interferes with us in every way, which daily interposes fresh obstacles and difficulties, and tries more and more to put restraint upon us? We cannot understand how there can be men who, in the public papers, in pamphlets, or at public meetings, should endeavour, either thoughtlessly or in malice, to persuade people that the present condition of the Sovereign Pontiff in Rome is such that, though living under another's rule, he enjoys complete liberty, and is able peacefully and fully to discharge the duties of his spiritual primacy. In support of this assertion, when the Bishops or faithful of other countries come to visit us, and We admit them into our presence, and speak to them of the attacks upon the Church, these men neglect no opportunity of insinuating that We have full power and liberty both to receive the faithful and to address them, and to govern the whole Church : as if the exercise of these acts were fully and completely within our power, or as if in these things the whole duty of governing the Church consisted. Who is ignorant that, not in our own power, but under the control of our rulers, are those very acts of liberty of which they so much boast ; and that those acts can be exercised only so far and so long as our rulers permit? What liberty of action We have, and to what extent We are controlled by our rulers, is sufficiently shown, even if there were no proofs, by the last act of legislation which We have described to you, and in which the free exercise of our spiritual power and ecclesiastical ministry is subjected to a new and intolerable oppression. If they permit us to perform certain acts because it is for their interest that We should be thought to be free under their rule, how many weighty and necessary and most important matters are there, belonging to the grave duties of our ministry, for which, as long as We are subject to them, We have neither liberty nor power? Would that they who speak or write these things look at what is happening around us ; and, judging for a moment impartially, would say whether the duty that God has laid

upon us of governing the Church can really be discharged in the condition to which We have been reduced by our invaders. Would that they could hear the reproaches, outrages, and insults that are uttered in Parliament against us ; and which, while We pardon the men who utter them, are nevertheless most offensive to the faithful whose common Father is outraged, and tend to lessen the esteem and veneration, which are due to the holy and high office of Vicar of Christ. Would that they could be witnesses of the insults and calumnies by which the Sacred College and other high dignitaries of the Church are in every way assailed, to the great injury of their authority. Would that they could see how the august rites and institutions of the Catholic Church are derided and ridiculed ; the most sacred mysteries of religion profaned ; impiety and atheism honoured with public demonstrations and processions, while religious processions, which the good Catholics of Italy have always been accustomed to hold on solemn festivals, are forbidden. Would that they were aware of the blasphemies which, with perfect impunity and without any protest on the part of the authorities, are uttered against the Church in Parliament ; where the Church herself is accused as subversive and aggressive,—her teaching perverse, and hostile to society and morality,—and her power and authority assailed as hurtful to civil life. Even those who boast of our liberty would be unable to deny the manifold, constant and grave occasions that are prepared for the demoralisation and corruption of incautious youth, and for uprooting Catholic faith from their minds. And if they walked through the streets of this City, which, as being the See of Blessed Peter, is the seat and centre of religion, they could easily judge whether the temples of heretical worship, the schools of error everywhere established, the houses of ill-fame set up in many places, and the obscene and loathsome sights presented to the eyes of the people, constitute a state of things which is tolerable for him whose duty and wish it is, by reason of his Apostolic office, to

destroy these many evils, but who is unable to apply a remedy to even one of them, or to help the souls that are perishing. Such, Venerable Brethren, is the condition to which We are reduced by the government that rules this City ; this is the so-called liberty and power which they impudently assert that We enjoy : the liberty, forsooth, of witnessing the gradual destruction of the order and constitution of the Church, and of seeing souls perish, while We are unable in any way to repair these evils.

After all this, is it not mockery to say, as it is often said, that We ought to come to a reconciliation and agreement with our new masters? Such a reconciliation would on our side be a betrayal of the highest rights of the Holy See, which We have received as a sacred and inviolable trust to guard and to defend ; it would, above all, be a betrayal of the sacred ministry which We have received from God for the salvation of souls, and a surrender of the inheritance of Christ into the hands of an authority whose efforts are directed to the destruction, if it were possible, of the very name of the Catholic religion. Now, indeed, the world may clearly see the value and sincerity of the concessions or guarantees by which our enemies pretended to guard the liberty and dignity of the Roman Pontiff : guarantees which rest on no other foundation than the arbitrary and hostile will of a Government in whose power it is to apply them, to interpret them, and to carry them into effect as it may choose, and solely for its own purposes and interests. In no way, certainly, in no way does the Roman Pontiff possess, nor can he ever possess full liberty, or exercise his full authority, as long as he is subject to others ruling his City. In Rome he must be either a sovereign or a captive ; and never will there be peace, security, and tranquillity throughout the Catholic Church, so long as the exercise of the Supreme Apostolic ministry is left exposed to the agitation of parties, the arbitrary power of rulers, the vicissitudes of political elections, and the designs and actions of men who prefer their own interest to what is just.

But do not think, Venerable Brethren, that in these hardships and sufferings our courage is broken, or that We have lost confidence in the decrees of the Eternal and Almighty God. Ever since, on the seizure of our territory, We resolved to keep guard at the tomb of Blessed Peter over the interests of the Catholic Church, and therefore to stay in Rome rather than to seek a quiet resting-place in other lands, We have ceased not, with God's help, to strive for the defence of His cause ; and still We persevere, defending, step by step, against the usurpation of the Revolution, the little that remains. When all other help has failed us for the protection of the Church and of religion, We have raised our voice in expostulation, as you who have shared our dangers and our grief bear witness ; for We have often publicly addressed you, either in condemnation of fresh outrages and in protest against the increasing violence of our enemies, or to warn the faithful against the seductions and pretended goodness of the wicked, and against the noxious teaching of false brethren. Would that those would listen to our words whose duty and interest it is to support our authority, and stoutly to defend a cause than which there is none more just and more holy. How can it escape their notice that in vain will they look for solid and true prosperity among nations, for tranquillity and order among the people, and for firmness of power in those who hold the sceptre, if the authority of the Church, which unites all rightly formed societies in the bond of religion, is despised and violated with impunity ; and if its supreme Head, instead of having full liberty for the exercise of his ministry, is subject to the arbitrary will of another ?

We rejoice, indeed, that the whole Catholic people have, with filial piety, so readily and fruitfully received our words. Their earnest and repeated proofs of affection are an honour to themselves and to the Church, and encourage us to hope for more joyful days for the Church and for the Apostolic See. We cannot, in fact, adequately describe our joy and consolation when, having no powerful help on any side,

We see, even in distant countries, noble and generous hearts become more and more earnest in taking up our cause and in defending the dignity of the Roman Pontiff. The liberal aid which reaches us from all parts of the world to supply the urgent needs of the Holy See, and the visits of our children of all nations, who come to testify their devotion to the visible Head of the Church, are pledges of affection for which We can never sufficiently thank the Divine goodness. We would wish, however—and it would be a useful lesson—that all should understand the real value and true significance of the pilgrimages which have been so frequent during the war that has been waged against the Roman Pontificate. They are valuable, not merely as a demonstration of the love and reverence of the faithful for our humble person, but as a proof of the solicitude and anxiety they feel at the abnormal and incongruous condition of their common Father—an anxiety which will not cease, but will go on increasing, until the Pastor of the Universal Church shall be restored to the possession of his full and real liberty.

There is nothing, Venerable Brethren, that We more desire than that our words should go forth from these walls to the ends of the earth, in testimony to all the faithful of our gratitude for their continual proofs of affection and reverence : for We wish to thank them for the pious generosity they have shown in helping us, forgetful at times of their own needs, and remembering that to God is given what is given to the Church ; We wish also to congratulate them upon the magnanimity and courage with which they have met the anger and scorn of the wicked ; and lastly, We wish to express our gratitude for the alacrity with which they are preparing to offer to us fresh tokens of their love in the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of our Episcopal Consecration. No less do We wish that all the Pastors of the Church throughout the world should, on receiving these words, point out to the faithful the dangers and assaults, and daily increasing troubles to which We are

exposed ; and should make known to them that, whatever may be the end, We will never cease from denouncing the crimes that are perpetrated before us, although, by reason of the laws already passed, and of other and severer laws in preparation, it may happen after a time that our words will reach them less frequently and not without much difficulty. Meanwhile We urge all Pastors to see that their flocks are not misled by the crafty artifices of those who endeavour to misrepresent our real condition, either by concealing its gravity, by extolling our liberty, or by affirming that our authority is subject to no one : for, to sum up all in a few words, the Church of God in Italy is suffering violence and persecution, and the Vicar of Christ has neither liberty nor the free and full use of his power.

We therefore think it opportune, and We greatly desire, that the Bishops, who in many ways have shown their union in defence of the rights of the Church, and their devotedness to this Apostolic See, should call upon the faithful under their jurisdiction to make every effort, as far as the laws of each country may permit, to induce their Governments not only to examine carefully the serious condition of the Head of the Catholic Church, but also to take such measures as may ensure the removal of the obstacles which restrict his true and perfect independence. But as Almighty God alone can enlighten the minds and move the hearts of men, We beseech you, Venerable Brethren, to pray to Him fervently at this time ; and We earnestly exhort the Pastors of all Catholic peoples to assemble the faithful in the sacred temples, there to pray humbly and fervently for the safety of the Church, for the conversion of our enemies, and for the cessation of such great and wide-spread evils. And God, Who is well pleased with those who fear Him and hope in His mercy, will, We firmly believe, hear the prayer of His people when they cry to Him.

Let us, Venerable Brethren, be strengthened in the Lord and in the might of His Power ; and putting on the armour

of God, the breast-plate of justice, and the shield of faith, let us fight strenuously and bravely against the power of darkness and the wickedness of this world. Already the spirit of disturbance and disorder threatens, like a torrent, to carry everything before it ; and not a few of the authors or promoters of the Revolution look back with terror on the effects of their work. God is with us, and will be with us till the end of the world. Let those fear of whom it is written : " I have seen those who work iniquity, and sow sorrows and reap them, perishing by the blast of God, and consumed by the spirit of His wrath." [1] But the mercy and the help of God are with those who fear Him, and who fight in His name, and hope in His power ; and it is not to be doubted that, when the cause is His and the battle is His, He will lead the combatants to victory.

[1] Job iv. 8, 9.

APPENDIX V

FROM DÖLLINGER'S "HISTORY OF THE CHURCH"

(Vol. iii, pp. 217–119.)

"ON the following festival of Christmas, the Pope crowned Charles as Roman Emperor, amidst the acclamations of the people, whilst he knelt before the altar of St. Peter, and anointed him and his son Pepin. Thus, after an interval of three hundred and twenty-five years, was the dignity of Roman emperor renewed ; not transferred from the Greeks to the Franks ; for the Byzantine emperors were still acknowledged as such by the popes and by the emperors of the west. But the empire of Constantinople, which had oftentimes been the prey of a fortunate adventurer or rude soldier, which had oppressed and persecuted rather than defended the Church, possessed now no more authority in the west. The Greeks themselves had long looked upon the Italian provinces, not as component parts of the empire, but as foreign conquered lands. By their perfect inability to guard them and protect them against the attacks of the Lombards, they had forfeited their claims to these provinces ; and over Rome and the Roman dukedom, the sovereignty of the popes had been established during the course of the eighth century. The popes had recognised the superiority of the Greek emperors only by the insertion of their names and the years of their reign in public records, and by the coining of money bearing their effigies—a practice which had been observed also by the kings of the Franks. Now, therefore, Charles was raised above all the princes and kings of the west ; his rank was no longer inferior but equal to that of the emperor of Constantinople ; he, who as a patrician, had hitherto been the guardian of the Church of Rome, was now, as emperor, the protector and advocate of the entire Church ; and as this was destined by its founder to be extended to all mankind, there was comprised in his power, not only the idea of a pre-eminence above all other princes, but the empire of the world (imperium mundi),

in virtue of which it was his duty to promote the propagation of Christianity even amongst barbarous infidel nations, and to provide in general for the welfare of the Christian Church. The imperial supremacy was naturally extended over the States of the Church, but without any trespass on the authority of the pontiff. The pope continued to be what he had been, lord of Rome, and of the dukedom, and chief of the exarchate. But recent events had proved that, in the troubled state of those countries, and in the unceasing conflicts of powerful parties, the temporal power of the pope could not stand, and that the personal safety of the pontiff called for the assistance of a powerful arm. For this end was instituted the rank of patrician ; and if Charles as patrician could exercise his power of guardian in Rome, and its surrounding territory, to his former was now added the imperial dignity, by which Rome was subjected to his imperium. But the pope was not, therefore, a subject of the emperor ; the Romans, indeed, swore to him an oath of fidelity, that he might continue to possess his advocacy and the jurisdiction connected with it ; but they pledged themselves with an express reservation of the fidelity due by them to the Roman Pontiff, their sovereign. Neither is it to be supposed that the pope, before independent and free, wished to give to himself and his successors a lord and master, by this restoration of the imperial dignity. Both, however, the pope and the emperor, entered into a state of mutual dependence ; each swore to the other an oath of fidelity, that is, of reverence and respect : the emperor acquired his dignity only by the coronation and anointing performed by the pope ; whilst the pope, who now stood in need of the assistance of the emperor, as he had before of the patrician, was, as a temporal prince, under the universal imperial dominion, and could not ascend to his high rank without the consent and approbation of the emperor."

APPENDIX VI

LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE APOSTOLIC NUNCIOS

By CARDINAL SIMEONI, Secretary of State to His Holiness, on the action of the Italian Government with respect to the Allocution of 12 *March* 1877.

MY Lord—,

You will not fail to notice the Circular on the late Allocution of the Holy Father, addressed by the Keeper of the Seals to the Procurators-General of the Courts of Appeal, and published yesterday by the Ministerial press in Rome. In that Circular it is ordered that journals shall not be sequestered for publishing the said Pontifical document, if in so doing they abstain from all expressions of approval : and this order is represented as a convincing proof of the liberty secured to the Sovereign Pontiff in the exercise of his ministry, inasmuch as, so states the Minister above named, the Allocution has gone beyond every limit that could have been foreseen, and has given fresh evidence of the ingratitude of His Holiness towards a Government which has been so liberal and so generous to the Church.

The truth is, that, if any further proof were wanting of the sad state of things which the Allocution describes, it would be found manifestly in the Circular of which I speak : for, from the moment when the publication of the Pontiff's words is subjected to the will of any Keeper of the Seals whatsoever, his liberty of speech becomes, and can be only, an illusion. The Minister himself to-day tells us that, notwithstanding the motives which he would have had for rigorously enforcing the laws, he has wished rather to forbear ; but to-morrow the same Minister, or his successor, instead of yielding to these pretended feelings of forbearance, might with equal reason become a severe enforcer of laws that can be easily applied : and, for want of other motives, he might have recourse to the usual and groundless pretext

which is put forward in the circular—namely, that the Roman Pontiff has passed beyond the limits of what is spiritual into the region of politics.

Such a pretext, I say, is, now especially, groundless. Whoever has read the Allocution of March 12 must have seen that the statement of facts therein contained relates entirely to religious interests, and above all to a vindication of full and real independence in the exercise of the Apostolic ministry. The wounds inflicted on the Church, against which His Holiness protests and has never failed to protest, are—whatever the author of the Circular may say—the lamentable effects of a policy that has entered upon a region which does not belong to it ; but this is no reason for saying that the limits of his proper sphere have been transgressed by him whose right and obligation it is to protest until reparation be made.

The nature, however, of the liberty generously granted to the Sovereign Pontiff is still further shown in the Circular. It is a liberty which permits all papers hostile to the Church to assail in every way the Holy Father's words, by insult, by blasphemy, and even by falsifying their sense ; but which, at the same time, forbids all Catholic papers to give any confirmation of the facts of which His Holiness complains, or to show any respect for the voice, the counsels or the teaching, of the august Head of the Church : a prohibition of which several Catholic journals of the provinces have already experienced the effect, by being sequestered for no other reason than that they had expressed their admiration of the Allocution. As to the Clergy in particular, the liberty which is announced to them is expressed with new and more stringent menaces, so that, if the ministers of religion, in obedience to the voice of their High Priest, preach his doctrines and exhort the people to observe them, they will find themselves confronted by a law which will pronounce that this is an intolerable abuse, punishable with imprisonment and heavy fines. And it is in the presence of such enactments that people are asked

to believe in the absolute independence of the Sovereign Pontiff, and to set value on the concessions which, it is pretended, have been made to the Catholic Church by the Italian Parliament. The Keeper of the Seals appeals to the good sense of the public ; but, in truth, with but little confidence : for, by his permitting only attack and forbidding all defence, his appeal becomes a mockery.

The mere fact that a Minister, after reading a discourse pronounced by the most august Authority upon earth, should pass over the injuries of which that Authority has declared itself the victim, and, summoning the Authority, so to speak, before him, should endeavour with captious words to accuse it of violence and of incitement to revolt ; and should go so far even as to reproach it with ingratitude for having uttered complaints instead of expressing thankfulness : this fact alone, I say, would suffice to show what confidence can be placed in the frequent declarations that have been made of respect and reverence for the spiritual jurisdiction of the Head of the Church. The conscience of Catholics, it may be truly said, will not fail to estimate such boldness as it deserves, and especially to see where the alleged ingratitude is to be found : whether in him who has ever loved Italy and sought its welfare, and who even now is its support, its splendour, and its brightest ornament ; or in him whose endeavour is to root up from our country its greatest glories—which are those of the Papacy—and to fill the soul of our august Pontiff with bitterness and sorrow.

Your Lordship will not fail to call the attention of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government to which you are accredited to the language of the Keeper of the Seals, and to the reflections to which that language gives rise : and you will especially invite him to consider that, while there is just ground of complaint for the Catholics of Italy, who in spite of the oppression they suffer, and notwithstanding certain notorious *plebiscites* mentioned in the Circular, have shown spontaneously, in many ways,

and on all possible occasions, their adherence to the Sovereign Pontiff, the Catholics also of other nations have no less reason for complaint; and that, therefore, it is for the interest of the respective Governments to give their serious attention to this condition of things, in accordance with the advice offered by the Holy Father in the late Allocution. This also, as you will explain, is of still greater importance, because, by referring to the present diplomatic relations of Italy, the significance of which is purposely exaggerated, an attempt is made to throw upon Foreign Governments a part of the responsibility for the evils which the Sovereign Pontiff has described; and because, moreover, when the Holy Father, unable in his present position rightly to govern the Church, calls upon the faithful to bring these matters before their Governments, he expressly wishes—a point on which the Keeper of the Seals has artfully been silent—that their action should be in conformity with the laws of their respective countries.

Authorising you to leave a copy of this Despatch with the Minister of Foreign Affairs if he should desire it,

I remain, etc.

ROME, 21 *March* 1877.

APPENDIX VII

LETTER FROM JULES FAVRE TO THE EDITOR OF THE "JOURNAL OFFICIEL DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE," 13 NOVEMBER 1871.

MLE DIRECTEUR,

En revenant de la campagne, il y a trois jours, j'ai lu dans les extraits des certains journaux italiens que l'exactitude de la dépêche de M. le Comte d'Harcourt, du 26 avril dernier, citée par moi dans mon travail sur Rome, était contestée. Je me suis empressé d'écrire à M. le Ministre des affaires étrangères que j'étais sûr de mon copiste et que certainement il n'avait pas commis d'erreur. Quel n'a pas été mon étonnement en rendant aujourd'hui visite au ministre à Versailles, d'apprendre par lui qu'une des phrases de la dépêche avait été, en effet, mal copiée. Voici le passage où se trouve cette erreur : M. le Comte d'Harcourt cite les paroles prononcées par le Saint Père, le jour où il lui a présenté ses lettres de créance ; le Saint Père lui disait : La souveraineté . . . fonctions spirituelles. Tel est le texte que j'ai cité. Le copiste y a sauté quatre mots placés au bas de la page et qui lui ont échappé par une erreur que je regrette vivement : *ce n'est pas que* si l'on m'offrait mes États je refuserais. . . . Du reste, mon éditeur rectifiera l'erreur commise en ajoutant un carton aux exemplaires qui sont entre mes mains. Veuillez, etc. Jules Favre.—Paris, ce lundi 13 novembre 1871.

TRANSLATION

To the Editor,

On returning from the country three days ago I read in certain Italian newspapers that the exactitude of Count d'Harcourt's despatch of 26 April last, cited by me in my work on Rome, had been questioned. I hastened to write to the Minister of Foreign Affairs that I was sure of my copyist and that certainly he had not committed an error. What was my astonishment on visiting the Minister

to-day at Versailles to learn from him that one of the phrases in the despatch had, indeed, been wrongly copied. Here is the passage where the errors occurs : Count d'Harcourt quotes the words spoken by the Holy Father the day when he presented to him his letters of credence ; the Holy Father said to him : " Sovereignty . . . mission." That was the text which I quoted. The copyist left out four words at the bottom of the page which escaped him by an error which I regret extremely : " *That does not mean* that if it was offered to return to me my States I should refuse." My publisher will correct the error by inserting a slip in the copies which I still have. Yours, etc., Jules Favre. Paris, Monday, 13 November 1871.

APPENDIX VIII

POPES AND EMPERORS

A Chronological Table

Year of Election.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			B.C.
		Augustus	27
			A.D.
		Tiberius	14
		Caligula	37
		Claudius	41
42	St. Peter (according to Jerome)		
		Nero	54
67	St. Linus (according to Irenæus, Eusebus, Jerome)		
		Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian	68
79	St. Anacletus	Titus	79
		Domitian	81
90	St. Clement (according to some later writers)		
		Nerva	96
		Trajan	98
99	St. Everestus I		
107	St. Alexander I		
116	St. Sixtus I		
		Hadrian	117
125	St. Telesphorus		
136	St. Hyginus		
		Antoninus Pius	138
140	St. Pius		
154	St. Anicetus		
		Marcus Aurelius	161
168	Soter		
177	Eleutherius		
		Commodus	180
193	Victor	Pertinax	193
		Didius Julianus	193
		Niger	193
		Septimius Severus	193
198	Zephyrinus		
		Caracalla, Geta	211
217	Calixtus I	Opilius Macrinus, Diadumenian	217
		Elagabalus	218

Year of Election.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
222	Urban I	Alexander Severus	222
230	Pontianus		
235	Anterius or Anteros	Maximin	235
236	Fabianus		
		The two Gordians, Maximus Pupienus, Balbinus	237
		The Third Gordian	238
		Philip	244
		Decius	249
251	Cornelius	Hostilian, Gallus	251
251–8 (?)	Novatianus		
252	Lucius I	Volusian	252
253	Stephen I	Æmilian, Valerian, Gallienus	253
257	Sixtus II		
259	Dionysius		
		Gallienus	260
		Claudius II	268
269	Felix		
		Aurelian	270
275	Eutychianus	Tacitus	275
		Florian	276
		Probus	276
		Carus	282
283	Caius		
		Carinus, Numerian	284
		Diocletian	284
		Maximian with Diocletian	286
296	Marcellinus		
		Constantius, Galerius	305
		Severus	306
		Constantine (the Great)	306
		Licinius	307
308	Marcellus I	Maximin	308
309	Eusebius	Constantine, Galerius, Licinius, Maximin, Maxentius and Maximian reigning jointly	309
311	Melchiades		
314	Sylvester I		
		Constantine (the Great) alone	323
336	Marcus I		
337	Julius I		
		Constantine II, Constantius II, Constans and Magentius	337

Year of Election.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
352	Liberius		
		Constantius alone	353
		Julian	361
		Jovian	363
		Valens and Valentinian I	364
366	Damasus I		
		Gratian and Valentinian I	367
		Gratian and Valentinian II	375
		Theodosius	379
384	Siricius		
		Arcadius (in the East), Honorius (in the West)	395
398	Anastasius I		
402	Innocent I		
		Theodosius II (E.)	408
417	Zosimus		
418	Boniface I		
422	Celestine I		
		Valentinian III (W.)	424
432	Sixtus III		
440	Leo I (the Great)		
		Marcian (E.)	450
		Maximus, Avitus (W.)	455
		Marjorian (W.)	455
		Leo I (E.)	457
461	Hilarius	Severus (W.)	461
		Anthemius (W.)	467
468	Simplicius		
		Olybrius (W.)	472
		Glycerius (W.)	473
		Julius Nepos (W.)	474
		Leo II, Zeno, Basiliscus (all E.)	474
		Romulus Augustulus (W.)	475
		End of the Western Line in Romulus Augustus	476
483	Felix II (or III)	(Henceforth, till A.D. 800, Emperors reigning at Constantinople)	
		Anastasius I	491
492	Gelasius I		
496	Anastasius II		
498	Symmachus		
514	Hormisdas		
		Justin I	518
523	John I		

Year of Election.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
526	Felix III (or IV)		
		Justinian	527
530	Boniface II		
532	John II		
535	Agapetus I		
536	Silverius		
537	Vigilius		
555	Pelagius I		
560	John III		
		Justin II	565
574	Benedict I		
578	Pelagius II	Tiberius II	578
		Maurice	582
590	Gregory I (the Great)		
		Phocas	602
604	Sabinianus		
607	Boniface III		
608	Boniface IV		
		Heraclius	610
615	Deus dedit.		
619	Boniface V		
625	Honorius I		
638	Severinus		
640	John IV		
		Constantine III, Heracleonas, Constans II	641
642	Theodorus I		
649	Martin I		
654	Eugenius I		
657	Vitalianus		
		Constantine IV (Pogonatus)	668
672	Adeodatus		
676	Donus I		
678	Agatho		
682	Leo II		
684	Benedict II		
685	John V	Justinian II	685
685 (?)	Conon		
687	Sergius I		
		Leontius	694
		Tiberius III	697
701	John VI		
705	John VII	Justinian II restored	705
708	Sissinnius		
708	Constantine		

Year of Election.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
		Philippicus Bardanes	711
		Anastasius II	713
715	Gregory II		
		Theodosius III	716
		Leo III (the Isaurian)	718
731	Gregory III		
741	Zacharias	Constantine V (Copronymus)	741
752	Stephen II		
752	Stephen II (or III)		
757	Paul I		
768	Stephen III (or IV)		
772	Adrian		
		Leo IV	775
		Constantine VI	780
795	Leo III		
		Deposition of Constantine VI by Irene	797
		Charles I (the Great) (following henceforth the new Western line)	
		Lewis I (the Pious)	814
816	Stephen IV (or V)		
817	Paschal I		
824	Eugenius II		
827	Valentinus		
827	Gregory IV		
		Lothar I	840
844	Sergius II		
847	Leo IV		
855	Benedict III	Lewis II (in Italy)	855
858	Nicholas I		
867	Adrian II		
872	John VIII		
		Charles II, the Bald (W. Frankish)	875
		Charles III, the Fat, (E. Frankish)	881
882	Martin II		
884	Adrian III		
885	Stephen V (or VI)		
891	Formosus	Guido (in Italy)	891
		Lambert (in Italy)	894
896	Boniface VI	Arnulf (E. Frankish)	896
896	Stephen VI (or VII)		
897	Romanus		

Year of Election.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
897	Theodore II		
898	John IX		
		Lewis (*the Child*)	899
900	Benedict IV		
		Lewis III of Provence (in Italy)	901
903	Leo V		
903	Christopher		
904	Sergius III		
911	Anastasius III		
913	Lando		
914	John X		
		Berengar (in Italy)	915
928	Leo VI		
929	Stephen VII (or VIII)		
931	John XI		
936	Leo VII		
		Otto I (the Great), crowned E. Frankish king at Aachen	936
939	Stephen VIII		
941	Martin III		
946	Agapetus II		
955	John XII		
		Otto I, crowned Emperor at Rome	962
963	Leo VIII		
964	Benedict V		
965	John XIII		
972	Benedict VI		
		Otto II	973
974	Domnus II (?)		
974	Benedict VII		
983	John XIV	Otto III	983
985	John XV		
996	Gregory V		
999	Sylvester II		
		Henry II (the Saint)	1002
1003	John XVII		
1003	John XVIII		
1009	Sergius IV		
1012	Benedict VIII		
1024	John XIX	Conrad II (the Salic)	1024
1033	Benedict IX		
		Henry III (the Black)	1039
1045	Gregory VI		
1046	Clement II		

Year of Election.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
1048	Damasus II		
1049	Leo IX		
1055	Victor II		
		Henry IV	1056
1057	Stephen IX		
1058	Benedict X		
1059	Nicholas II		
1061	Alexander II		
1073	Gregory VII (Hildebrand)		
		(Rudolf of Swabia, rival)	1077
		(Hermann of Luxemburg, rival)	1081
1086	Victor III		
1087	Urban II		
		(Conrad of Franconia, rival)	1093
1099	Paschal II		
		Henry V	1106
1118	Gelasius II		
1119	Calixtus II		
1124	Honorius II		
		Lothar II	1125
1130	Innocent II		
		Conrad III	1138
1143	Celestine II		
1144	Lucius II		
1145	Eugenius III		
		Frederick I (Barbarosa)	1152
1153	Anastasius IV		
1154	Adrian IV (the first, and thus far, only Englishman to become Pope)		
1159	Alexander III		
1181	Lucius III		
1185	Urban III		
1187	Gregory VIII		
1187	Clement III		
		Henry VI	1190
1191	Celestine III		
		Philip, Otto IV (rivals)	1197
1198	Innocent III		
		Otto IV	1208
		Frederick II	1212
1216	Honorius III		
1227	Gregory IX		

Year of Election.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
1241	Celestine IV		
1243	Innocent IV		
		(Henry Raspe, rival)	1246
		(William of Holland, rival)	1246–7
		Conrad IV	1250
1254	Alexander IV	Interregnum	1254
		Richard (Earl of Cornwall), Alfonso (King of Castile) (rivals)	1257
1261	Urban IV		
1265	Clement IV		
1271	Gregory X		
		Rudolf I (of Hapsburg)	1273
1276	Innocent V		
1276	Adrian V		
1277	John XX or XXI		
1277	Nicholas III		
1281	Martin IV		
1285	Honorius IV		
1288	Nicholas IV		
		Adolf (of Nassau)	1292
1294	Celestine V		
1294	Boniface VIII		
		Albert I (of Hapsburg)	1298
1303	Benedict XI		
1303	Clement V		
		Henry VII (of Luxemburg)	1308
		Lewis IV (of Bavaria) (Frederick of Austria, rival)	1314
1316	John XXI or XXII		
1334	Benedict XII		
1342	Clement VI		
		Charles IV (of Luxemburg) (Gunther of Schwartzburg, rival)	1347
1352	Innocent VI		
1362	Urban V		
1370	Gregory XI		
1378	Urban VI	Wenzel (of Luxemburg)	1378
1389	Boniface IX		
		Rupert (of the Palatinate)	1400
1404	Innocent VII		
1406	Gregory XII		
1409	Alexander V		

Year of Election.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
1410	John XXII (or XXIII)	Sigismund (of Luxemburg) (Jobst of Moravia, rival)	1410
1417	Martin V		
1431	Eugene IV		
		Albert II (of Hapsburg)	1438
		Frederick III	1440
1447	Nicholas V		
1455	Calixtus IV		
1458	Pius II		
1464	Paul II		
1471	Sixtus IV		
1484	Innocent VIII		
1492	Alexander VI		
		Maximilian I	1493
1503	Pius III		
1503	Julius II		
1513	Leo X		
		Charles V	1519
1522	Hadrian VI		
1523	Clement VII		
1534	Paul III		
1550	Julius III		
1555	Marcellus II		
1555	Paul IV		
		Ferdinand I	1558
1559	Pius IV		
		Maximilian II	1564
1556	Pius V		
1572	Gregory XIII		
		Rudolf II	1576
1585	Sixtus V		
1590	Urban VII		
1590	Gregory XIV		
1591	Innocent IX		
1592	Clement VIII		
1604	Leo XI		
1604	Paul V		
		Matthias	1612
		Ferdinand II	1619
1621	Gregory XV		
1623	Urban VIII		
		Ferninand III	1637
1644	Innocent X		
1655	Alexander VII		
		Leopold I	1658
1667	Clement IX		
1670	Clement X		

Year of Election.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
1676	Innocent XI		
1689	Alexander VIII		
1691	Innocent XII		
1700	Clement XI		
		Joseph I	1705
		Charles VI	1711
1721	Innocent XIII		
1724	Benedict XIII		
1730	Clement XII		
1740	Benedict XIV		
		Charles VII (of Bavaria)	1742
		Francis I (of Lorraine)	1743
1758	Clement XIII		
		Joseph II	1765
1769	Clement XIV		
1775	Pius VI		
		Leopold II	1790
		Francis II	1792
1800	Pius VII		
		Abdication of Francis II	1806
1823	Leo XII		
1829	Pius VIII		
1831	Gregory XVI		
1846	Pius IX (breach of Porta Pia, Sept. 20, 1870)		
1878	Leo XIII		
1903	Pius X		
1914	Benedict XV		
1922	Pius XI (Holy See and Italy reconciled, Feb. 11, 1929)		

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